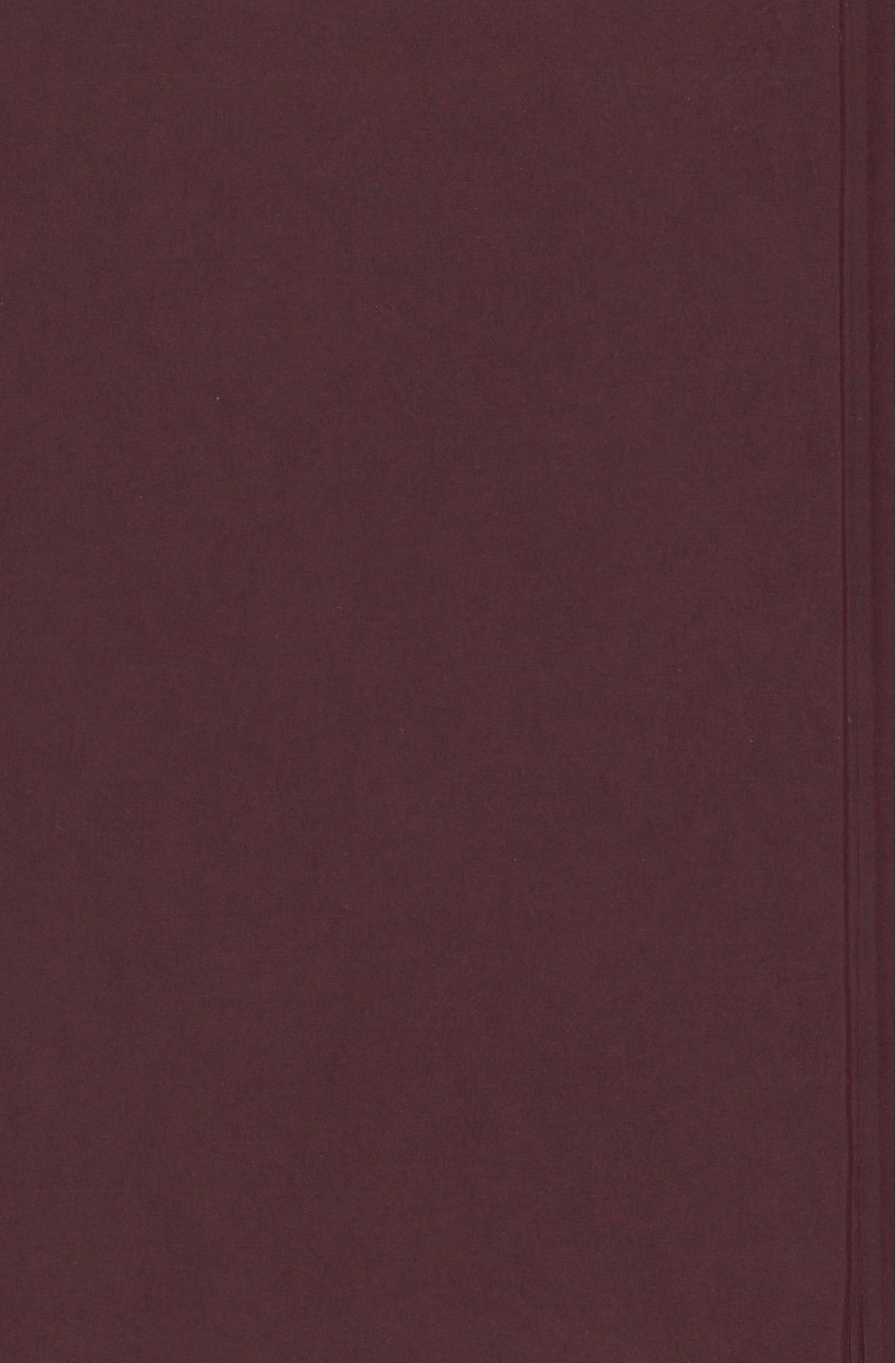
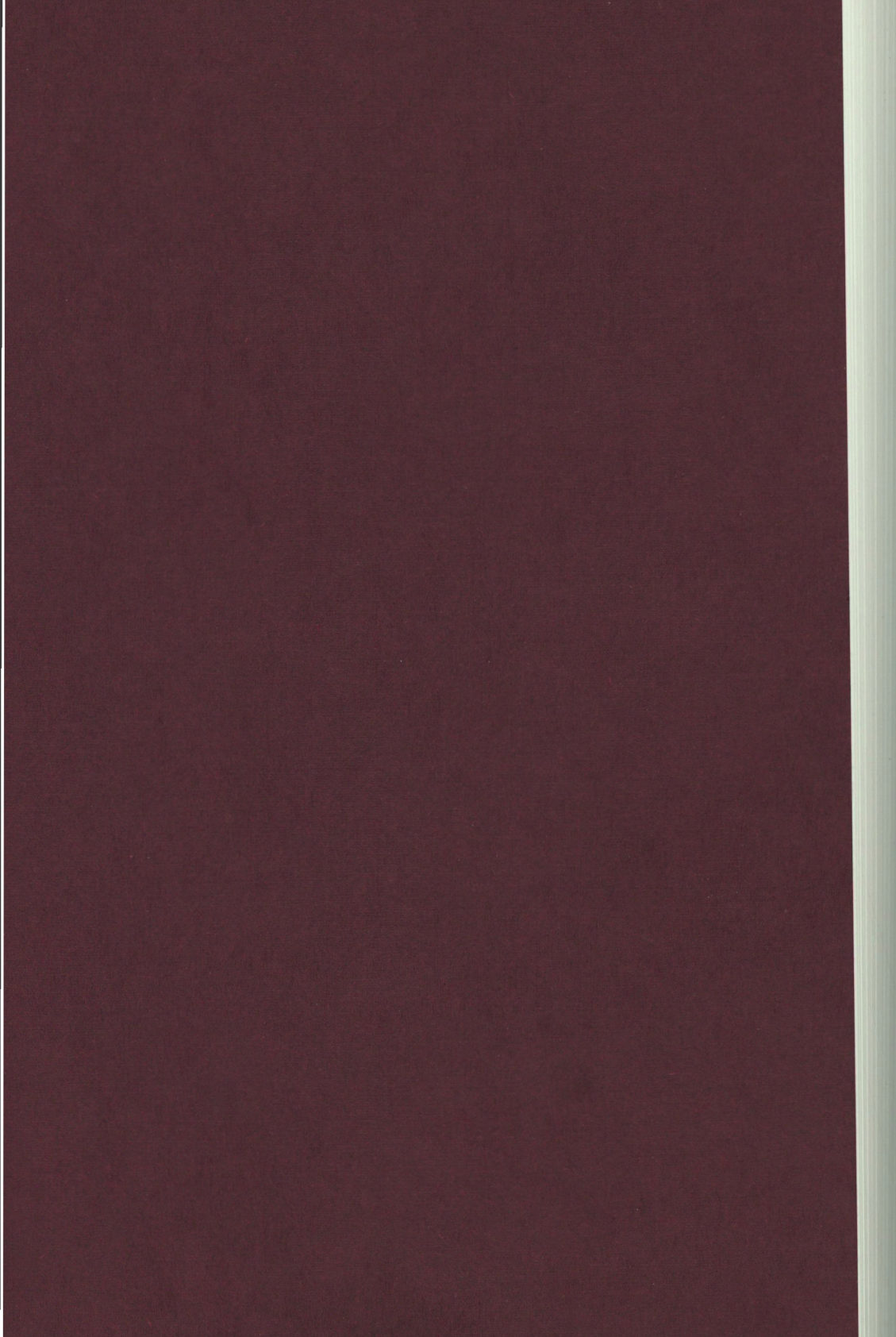


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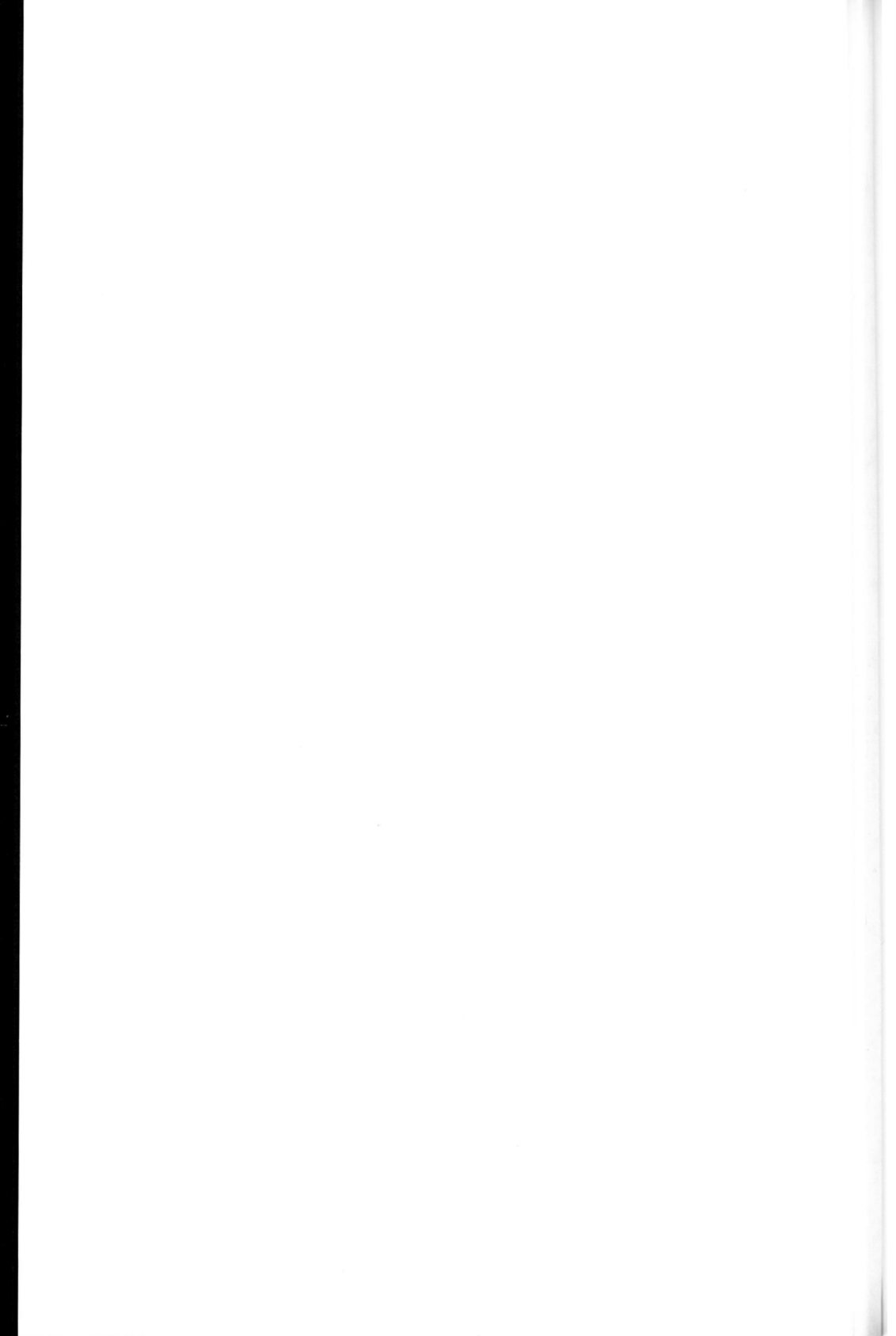


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*The Religious and Political Memoirs of*  
*James Henry Moyle*

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of which this is copy number

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**MORMON  
DEMOCRAT**

*The*  
**RELIGIOUS**  
*and*  
**POLITICAL**  
**MEMOIRS**  
*of*  
**JAMES**  
**HENRY**  
**MOYLE**



*I was reared from childhood  
a Mormon Democrat, then called the People's Party,  
a combination of Democracy and Theocracy and as purely so  
as ever existed. Its chief motto or slogan in political  
campaigns was: "The office should seek the man  
and not the man the office."*

*James H. Moyle*

**M O R M O N  
D E M O C R A T**

*The*  
**R E L I G I O U S**  
*and*  
**P O L I T I C A L**  
**M E M O I R S**  
*of*  
**J A M E S**  
**H E N R Y**  
**M O Y L E**

**E d i t e d   b y**  
**G e n e   A .   S e s s i o n s**

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*To my father, James Moyle,  
and his two good wives,  
Elizabeth Wood and Margaret Anna Cannell*



*Table  
of*

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## EDITOR'S PREFACE

In the more than twenty years since the limited edition of *Mormon Democrat: The Religious and Political Memoirs of James Henry Moyle* was privately released to Moyle family members, I often had occasion to wish that it had received a wider distribution. Although members of the Moyle family graciously provided copies to libraries on request, many scholars and others interested in Utah/Mormon history lamented that the volume was not available for private collections. The insights of James H. Moyle, particularly on the subject of religion and politics in Utah, remain powerful and cogent even as we enter the last years of the twentieth century. The unique influence of the Mormon culture on the politics of the state may have changed shape since Moyle's day, but it continues to attract considerable attention with every political campaign and every legislative session. Its value to the historian notwithstanding, Moyle's commentary thus makes much truth of the notion that historical understanding broadens perspective and provides important background for a useful comprehension of any current issue.

When Signature Books first suggested that *Mormon Democrat* might fit nicely into its Significant Mormon Diaries Series, co-sponsored with Smith Research Associates, I happily contacted members of the family, now another generation still from those

with whom I dealt in the early 1970s. Evelyn Moyle Nelson and James Douglas Moyle, who worked so tirelessly to carry out their father's genealogical and historical wishes, are both gone. Sara Moyle Creer's daughter Alice Creer Young now spearheads the extended family effort to further the cause of history. Alice and I have carefully reread the memoirs in order to look one more time for consistency and fairness. We both recognized that her grandfather wrote with a frankness that could easily offend if taken out of context. In the end we concurred with the judgment of the previous generation of Moyles that, while pointed in his commentary, James H. Moyle meant no offense and sought only to express his views in an honest and constructive manner. This second edition, therefore, is not a revised edition and contains every passage from the first, with all of its candor and wealth of description.

This edition does contain some editorial changes, all minor and the result of my own evolving tastes in style. I have also added to the notes a few essential references to recent scholarship but limited that effort also in order to preserve the integrity of the original edition. The only other real change from the first edition is also in the footnotes. In the interest of space, I have not referenced every paragraph as I did in the first. Rather, a string of paragraphs from the same memorandum shows the notation at the end of the string only, except in cases of additional reference or commentary.

LaRee Keller and Myrna Eberle at Weber State University put in much suffering time on the present effort, as did Lesli Pantone who employed her considerable editorial skills on the project. I can never thank them enough.

# FOREWORD

*Leonard J. Arrington*

Sometime ago the three living children of James H. Moyle presented his papers to the Historical Department of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. Among those papers were many letters, memoranda, clippings, biographical manuscripts, and other memorabilia. These have been catalogued as the James Henry Moyle Collection and are available for the use of the family and scholars in the church archives. A guide to these materials has been provided to the family.

With the cooperation of the Mormon History Trust Fund, a non-profit fund established to assist in the writing and publishing of LDS history, there have been provided for the church archives and for family use two publications edited by Gene A. Sessions. The first of these is entitled *A View of James Henry Moyle: His Diaries and Letters*. The second is *Biographies and Reminiscences from the James Henry Moyle Collection*.

Among the Moyle papers donated to the church archives we were delighted to find James H. Moyle's handwritten "Memoirs." This was written over a period of several years after his 1940 release from service as Assistant to the Secretary of the United States Treasury. Brother Moyle wrote the memoirs for his family, but he indicates that he also intended them to be read by others interested in Utah and Mormon history during the period of his

life, 1858-1946. Recognizing that the memoirs make an important contribution to Mormon, Utah, and American history, the Mormon History Trust Fund, with financial assistance from the James Moyle Genealogical and Historical Association, employed Dr. Gene Sessions to use his editorial skill in reorganizing the material so that it would make a smooth and consistent narrative and to provide explanatory notes.

Copies of his edited transcript of the memoirs were then furnished to James H. Moyle's three living children. They have made suggestions for the explanatory notes and have also suggested the elimination of a few short passages which the author himself would almost certainly have removed had he lived to prepare the manuscript for publication.

I have read these memoirs with much interest. While James H. Moyle was an ardent Democrat whose criticism of Republican leaders shows his partisanship, he was also an active and devout Latter-day Saint, and the sincerity of his testimony is evidenced on every page of these memoirs. Thus, despite passages which reveal his partisanship and limited observation, the reader will be struck with the sincerity, honesty, and greatness of Elder Moyle. Readers will surely accept these memoirs as James H. Moyle's desire to present an honest and faithful record of the Utah political scene as he viewed it. Obviously he was critical of some persons and of their actions, but he was tentative in expressing his opinion and showed magnanimity in forgiving those persons he thought may have misused him. The memoirs are testimony to the truth of the gospel, the greatness of Latter-day Saint leaders, and the importance of the role played by James H. Moyle in Utah and national politics.

# EDITOR'S PROLOGUE

In 1950 Mormon apostle Matthew Cowley summarized his impressions of the late James Henry Moyle in the following terms: "I always had to take another look when I passed Brother James H. Moyle on the street."<sup>1</sup> Cowley's memory of Moyle was a common one, and though brief it was remarkably encompassing, for the striking appearance of the man symbolized uncannily his involved and ascendant life. Barrel-chested and six feet tall, he walked erectly with long and forceful strides, his large, bearded jaw set immovably to the fore. The steps of his life were analogously the same; firmness, seriousness, and undeviability characterized his demeanor until just before his death in his eighty-eighth year, and yet he was a person of great love and devotion, of immeasurable loyalties. In short, he was an impressive man, the proverbial great oak.

It is not the purpose of this prologue to recount in detail the life of James H. Moyle; this volume ought to accomplish that task in itself. It suffices to say at this point that the man lived in Utah

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<sup>1</sup> Transcript of funeral service, Alice Dinwoodey Moyle, 6 Apr. 1950, Box 7, fd 4, James Henry Moyle Collection, Library-Archives, Historical Department, Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City, hereinafter cited as CLA. All references hereinafter to box and folder (fd) are for items from this collection.

as a devoted member of a growing but persecuted religious group, the Mormons. Born in the pioneer surroundings dictated by Mormon history and in the humblest of conditions, he witnessed and participated in the evolution of that people from an isolated and estranged community with segregative social institutions into an emergent culture anxious to travel the paths of modern America. But Moyle had two religions by his own count, Mormonism and the Democratic party.<sup>2</sup> He believed in both with an equal fervor, and when they clashed, as they sometimes did in Utah history, he managed to endure, suffering only minor scars. Indeed, just before his death he held with coequal reverence the high regard Franklin D. Roosevelt and Mormon president Heber J. Grant had expressed for him prior to their deaths only months before. He was a Mormon Democrat, and perhaps the most complete owner of that title there had ever been.

Growing up in the old Fifteenth Ward on the west side of Salt Lake City, Moyle had determined early that he would rise above the humble surroundings of his childhood; he would become a lawyer, even though the church looked askance at the legal profession. Concomitant with this early determination, however, was a normal but eventful youth. His uniquely Mormon experiences ranged from seeing his father take a plural wife to working as a stonemason on the Salt Lake temple and standing guard over Brigham Young's body as it lay in state in 1877. Then, having accepted completely the faith of his father, Moyle received a call to be a missionary in the Southern States where he served with distinction in North Carolina, most of the time as conference president. After returning home late in 1881, Moyle requested of President John Taylor approval of the church to go to the University of Michigan to study law. With much reluctance and following a severe admonition to caution, Taylor blessed the young man in his pursuit of an education.

At Michigan Moyle struggled with a heavy workload, meager finances, and a weak educational background, but through it all he persevered and at the same time staunchly defended Mormonism, which was then under heavy attack because of the practice of

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<sup>2</sup> Interview with James D. Moyle by Gene A. Sessions, 11 Aug. 1974, transcript of eighteen pages, CLA, p. 7.

plural marriage. He graduated with an LL.B. in June 1885 and traveled home to begin his practice, but on the way he stopped in Richmond, Missouri, for a lengthy interview with David Whitmer, the last surviving member of the "three witnesses" to the golden plates of the Book of Mormon. His education completed and his faith entrenched, Moyle entered Utah politics. In 1886 he was elected Salt Lake County attorney and in 1888 to the territorial legislature on the Mormon People's Party ticket.

In 1891 at the disbandment of the People's Party, Moyle stated firmly his allegiance to the Democratic Party which brought him inevitably into conflict with church leadership as it tried to establish Republican parity among the traditionally Democratic Mormons. Moyle continued to clash with church leaders over politics, but managed to walk the tightrope, maintaining his devotion both to party and religion. He ran unsuccessfully for governor in 1900 and 1904 and finally for the Senate in 1914 on the Democratic and Progressive tickets against Apostle-Senator Reed Smoot. Following a narrow defeat in that election, Moyle set a precedent for a Latter-day Saint when he was tendered an appointment as Assistant Secretary of the Treasury in the Woodrow Wilson administration.

After four innovative years in the Treasury, Moyle returned to Utah and settled into his role as de facto dean of Utah Democrats. Serving on the Democratic National Committee, he worked vigorously for the nomination of William G. McAdoo for the U.S. presidency in 1924. Disappointed in defeat and in the discriminatory tariff policies of the party, he nevertheless remained on the national committee until he voluntarily retired in 1932.

In the fall of 1928, at the age of seventy, Moyle was appointed president of the Eastern States Mission of the church, which with his three decades as a member of the high council (or executive board) of the Ensign Stake he considered ample vindication of his persistent course of loyalty to the church despite his political disagreements with some of its leaders.

While in New York presiding over the mission, Moyle met with Governor Franklin D. Roosevelt with whom he had served in the Wilson administration. In the spring of 1933, following his inauguration as president, Roosevelt appointed Moyle Commissioner of Customs, and in 1939, at the age of eighty-one, he became special

assistant to Treasury secretary Henry Morgenthau. Withal, he became an avid New Dealer and conducted strong campaigns in Roosevelt's behalf in Utah. This brought him once again into conflict with some authorities of the church, but he remained an unbending advocate of Mormonism. He died in February 1946 convinced to the end that his fidelity to both church and party would prove ultimately consistent.

The scope of Moyle's life and experience in Utah, Mormon, and national history suggests by itself the great value of his memoirs. But, additionally, he knew from close vantage nearly every major religious and political figure in Utah during six decades spanning two centuries, and further considered himself "intimate" with several national leaders of the Democratic Party. The consequent worth of his memories was fortunately apparent even to himself, and though he saw benefit in them mostly for his posterity, he was nevertheless painstaking in the preservation of his papers that now fill twenty-one boxes in the archives of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints in Salt Lake City. They touch upon virtually every facet of the *Kulturkampf* in Utah from 1885 to 1945. Moreover, his torn loyalties and sometimes overdeveloped sense of criticism caused him throughout his papers to paint meticulously the scenes of that great conflict as he engaged actively in it, often from both sides.

Moyle's role in this drama conformed naturally to his forceful characteristics, a fact that worked both for and against him. Even his physical appearance and bearing, so impressive to those who knew him, affected the pursuit of his goals negatively as well as positively. For while it signified strength and a sense of purpose to his friends, it indicated aloofness, conceit, and intimidation to many whose followership he might have otherwise earned.<sup>3</sup> Concomitantly, his firm and unbending dedication to principle sometimes took on colors of harshness, tactlessness, and self-righteousness when set in the framework of the Moyle personality. With all of this seriousness and involvement in weighty affairs,

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<sup>3</sup> Frank Jonas, "Utah: The Different State," in Frank H. Jonas, ed., *Politics in the American West* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1969), p. 331, believed that this factor meant the difference in Smoot's defeat of Moyle in the 1914 senatorial race.

however, he was a real person who suffered as all humans do under the burdens of life and at the same time experienced the joys of family, friends, and achievement far above the average among his peers. Even though they may have disagreed with him in many if not most particulars, those who knew him well respected him. No one ever questioned his honesty or devotion to a consistent set of beliefs and life-standards, and despite the nearly constant clash between his extreme religiosity and his extreme partisanship, Moyle never wavered from his support of both church and party, founding his faith on the fundamentals of both and dismissing apparent inconsistencies among the policies of the two as results of human frailty.<sup>4</sup>

There can be no claim that Moyle's allegiance to the Mormon church and the Democratic Party was unique during the period of his life. Indeed, he was never numbered among the general authorities of the church as were other staunch Democrats such as B. H. Roberts and Anthony W. Ivins. In another sense, however, his independence from the ruling councils combined with his unswerving belief in Mormonism and his sense of judgment to make him an outspoken conscience of the church and as well of the party in Utah. It was impossible to challenge truthfully his integrity or his complete devotion to Mormon and Democratic principles, yet he freely criticized each institution and particularly the inconsistent actions of the leadership of each. One fellow Democrat called him the Savonarola of the Mormon church, but in the same sense he sought to reform the Democratic Party in Utah and the West especially with reference to regionally discriminatory tariff policies and machine politics. Beyond this, Moyle demonstrated an ability to act freely in making a choice between conflicting church and party positions without denigrating his ultimate faith in both causes. For example, he reluctantly abandoned Prohibitionism when he saw that Roosevelt would leave it

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<sup>4</sup> In 1928, for example, Moyle privately disapproved of the nomination of Alfred Smith for president and, in general principles, agreed more with the candidacy of Herbert Hoover, but his loyalty to the Democratic Party dictated his open support for Smith. On the church side of the question, the *Deseret News* editorial attack in 1936 on President Roosevelt shocked Moyle completely, yet it was after this point that he wrote some of his most stirring comments about the greatness of Heber J. Grant and the final triumph of Mormonism as the apogee of true religion.

behind as part of his new order in 1933. Hence, he built well the podium from which he addressed his sermons, and few escaped the sting of his didactics.

In the final sense, however, it is significant and unfortunate that Moyle never learned the skills of compromise, that great art of politics. More than occasionally his direct attacks alienated those he wished to influence for the better. This was true not only in his three major elections, but also as he tried to express his views to close friends and even to members of his family. Despite all of this, Moyle had no enemies, because, notwithstanding judgment as to the rightness or wrongness of his positions, his opponents in life could not find fault with the way he lived or with his dedication to high principles. They could only criticize the manner in which he had fought, with the meat ax rather than the scalpel (as he characterized his actions). His friends could only lament that his causes so often died with his inability to carry them tactfully to fulfillment.

That we can recognize so much of Moyle's introspection and complexity, his weaknesses and strengths, is due in large part to his own determination to keep an honest and accurate record. During his entire mature life and especially after 1920, Moyle held a great interest in genealogy and family history. This he had inherited in some degree from his father whose records abound with these concerns. But regardless of the source of this interest in preserving for posterity the past, Moyle began to keep detailed "memoranda for history" during his mission presidency in the early 1930s. Initially, these were intended merely for the use of the members of his family so that they might know what he had done. But by 1937 he had come to realize that his experiences could be of broader value. He thus opened correspondence with surviving associates who knew elements of the stories in which he was interested. Combining with personal recollections an insatiable curiosity and a voracious reading habit, he developed a sense of his place in the past and in the history of Utah, the church, and Democratic politics.

Shortly after his retirement in the summer of 1940, Moyle hired John Henry Evans, Mormon educator and popular biographer of church figures, to write his biography. Using interviews, letters, diaries, and the memoranda prepared to date, Evans began

to write what he tentatively called "James Henry Moyle, His Life and Times." By 1944 Evans had produced hundreds of pages, a prolix "long manuscript" which required reduction to more manageable size for publication—a "short manuscript." In the meantime Moyle was reading Evans's chapters. His memory understandably piqued, he wrote long comments and corrections both on the manuscript and in yellow legal pads that rapidly accumulated in his small study. Additionally, he began to suffer insomnia.

Ordinarily, I go to bed about nine-thirty or ten, and after three to four hours (sometimes less), I awake and cannot go to sleep for from two to three hours more. During that time, and generally very soon after I awake, my mind clears away any subject that I have not fully explored and then reverts to some other subject that interests me.<sup>5</sup>

On these occasions he took his pencil and pad in hand and added further to his accumulation of written memorabilia.

Sensing that he would soon leave them and having basked in the wealth of his experience all of their lives, his children also encouraged him to record his memories. By the summer of 1945 his work on the "history" and his corollary study had long since developed into something of an obsession as he felt the relentless effects of age.

My family, and especially my wife, complain of my being too quiet. It is a fact that when I am alone (if not too long) I am happy with my thoughts more than anything else, though I continue to read much, notwithstanding the great disadvantage in having to use not only my eyeglasses but also a hand magnifying glass. That has been the situation now for five years. I think better and clearer when I get into the accustomed place and time for doing that important work. I seem to have greater inspiration when there and at those hours, which is very different from when I was young and in middle life and even later. I found then that I could concentrate and do better work late at night when the body was physically worn down and the spiritual, intellectual self was the master. Now, as the day progresses, I wear down; my mind and body diminish in power and strength and I sometimes find myself unfit to do much. That has been lately most manifest when I have worried about what I would say in my writings at night. I have been humiliated with what I felt was a failure. That,

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<sup>5</sup> Memorandum dated July 1945, Box 12, fd 3.

however, is not yet always the case, but I deeply regret it is the rule rather than the exception. I wander as an old man will onto things not so directly applicable to my subject. That is the case now in this writing. I am so reminded that my time for being happy is when I am alone or quiet. It is on those occasions that I think the deepest and observe with the greatest profit.<sup>6</sup>

By Christmas 1945 John Henry Evans was mortally ill. The long manuscript was uncorrected and the shorter, publishable version incomplete. On that day Moyle himself entered the hospital for the final days of his life. Within two months he was dead, a victim of cancer and a refusal to undergo debilitating surgery. Evans lingered for some time, but was never again able to work on Moyle's biography.

Sometime later Henry D. Moyle, the eldest son who had since become an apostle in the church, gave the unfinished Evans manuscript to Gordon B. Hinckley and commissioned him to complete it. In 1951 Hinckley published *James Henry Moyle: The Story of a Distinguished American and an Honored Churchman* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Co.) which circulated mostly among family members and then went out of print. There the matter rested until I received a charge from then Church Historian Leonard J. Arrington to work through the Moyle Collection to determine its content and worth.

As I read the Evans manuscripts, the diaries, and then the letters, I came to believe that there was a great need for more work on Moyle because of the broad scope of the collection as it related to paramount issues in Utah and LDS church history. Even so, I approached the task of reading the six containers of yellow notebooks with great reluctance. cursory examination had indicated that the handwriting was often difficult and the subject matter, as Moyle readily admitted, greatly mixed. Furthermore, the pads were usually filled on both sides; stacked up, they measured more than two feet. After reading through only the first two notepads, however, I realized that in the course of preparing these totally unpolished memoranda, Moyle had written his own history in a remarkably lucid manner. What I had before me were the notes

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<sup>6</sup> Memorandum dated Sept. 1945, Box 13, fd 1.

for a complete set of memoirs. Departed from the scene for nearly thirty years, he could yet tell his own story with all of his opinions and memories intact and devoid of the biographer's inevitable distortions. I would have to organize, select, and edit, but the end product would be the memoirs of Moyle himself, presented for the reader to pursue and interrogate.

To produce a readable book, I had to exercise some liberties with Moyle's words since I was drafting from rough notes. But as the paragraphs of explanation on the following pages demonstrate, those liberties were restrained and few. In addition, each major event or thought in the edited memoirs is carefully referenced, citing the original memorandum from which it was drawn. In exceptional and rare cases, I used letters and other sources quoting Moyle to derive missing paragraphs, but these likewise are succinctly noted.



# EDITORIAL PROCEDURES AND ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

**T**wo judgment criteria dictated the selection of paragraphs from Moyle's memoranda for inclusion in the memoirs. The first, of course, was content, and the second was readability and lucidity. But inasmuch as Moyle was not trying to write a final production and was merely producing raw notes as he paced his mind with a pencil and pad of paper, some revision apart from the selection and organization process was necessary, as the following paragraph shown in original and edited versions demonstrates.

## **Unedited Version**

1. With that preface I will feel freer to say some things that does and had disturbed my mind, but thank God never soured it, and with His help nothing ever
2. will. There is too much good in all good men to ever condemn them whole. It is that
3. good which in the end counts and turns the ballance in their favor. It is also my

4. my experience that the men who do things are more numerous than we generally
5. realize. That with all their mistakes, in the final recounting, the good outweighs the bad so much that the bad will finally be out of sight and the good ever be in the light.
6. I have been trying to write about what I think bad and the good has forced itself so strongly on my mind that I am left to wonder whether what I have in mind is worth
7. the effort. It is the career of J. Reuben Clark, Jr., in the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints and its influence on the affairs of the Church as I have witnessed that deeply interests me. I am made to realize that we are each opposed partisans in politics
8. that make me at least unfitted for an impartial relations maybe of even
9. the facts.

**Edited Version**

1. With that preface I will feel freer to say some things that have perennially disturbed my mind, but thank God never soured it, and with His help nothing ever
2. will. There is too much good in all good men ever to condemn them wholly. It is that
3. good which in the end counts and turns the balance in their favor. It is also my
4. experience that men who do good things are more numerous than we generally
5. realize. With all their mistakes, in the final recounting, the good outweighs the bad so much that the bad will finally be out of sight and the good ever be in the light.
6. Whenever I have tried to write about what I think is bad, the good has forced itself so strongly on my mind that I am left to wonder whether what I have in mind is worth
7. the effort. For example, because of my deep interest in the career of J. Reuben Clark, Jr., in the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints and its influence on the affairs of the Church, I am made to realize that we are each opposed partisans in politics
8. and that may make me at least unfitted for an impartial relation even of
9. the facts. But I must try.

the original manuscripts to preserve Moyle's words with a minimum of tampering, but it was necessary, for example, to change wording for the sake of clarity and flow (see line 1). I have also corrected grammar (2) and spelling (3). The insertion of a word or the rewording of a phrase (4) generally satisfied occasions when Moyle's sentences failed to convey the meaning that the context of the original paragraph indicated. Extraneous words detrimental to the flow of the paragraph were removed (5), and words were often added to provide smooth transition between phrases, sentences, and paragraphs (9). Sentences were rearranged and/or subordinated to other sentences (6 and 7) to increase lucidity and to smooth style. In other cases I used the editor's pen simply to rework the text where I believed literary quality should be improved (8). But in all, I have zealously worked to avoid putting words into Moyle's mouth or altering in any way his thoughts or his intent and meaning. I believe in conclusion that I have successfully carried the memoirs of James Henry Moyle to much the same final form to which he would have brought them himself.

Though more than willing to take full responsibility for the editorial work which has gone into this volume, I must offer special thanks to some of the many who suffered with me through the process while rendering valuable aid. The James Moyle Genealogical and Historical Association through its officers provided the necessary impetus and funds to gather Moyle's papers for deposit in the church archives and to encourage a scholarly investigation of their content. James D. Moyle and Evelyn M. Nelson were tireless in this connection and in their efforts to see that accuracy and thoroughness characterized the project. Church Historian Leonard J. Arrington and his assistants, Davis Bitton and James B. Allen, read the manuscript and were constantly available with suggestions and answers drawn freely from their insightful knowledge of Utah history. Brent Thompson, who organized the Moyle Collection for the church archives, went out of his way to assist me during my study of the collection. John Sillito's help in preparing the notes was additionally invaluable as was the diligence of Church Historical Department editors Maureen Ursenbach and Jill Mulvay. Most recently, Jim Kimball of the Church Historical Library provided kind assistance. Deserving of a special mention is Pauline Huber whose patience and perseverance during the

process of transcribing and revising the yellow notebooks made this volume technically possible.

A final word of gratitude must go to James Henry Moyle himself. His long and eventful existence, his redoubtable faith and sense of purpose, and his strong character, whether or not one agrees with his convictions and actions, could only serve to inspire. For he believed fervently in honorable accomplishment, not only for its sake only, but for the joy it can bring to life. And he lived well to that end.

## Chapter 1

# MY HISTORY

My object in writing a history is not to sell it, but for the benefit of my children and my posterity, so they may know what I have done, what I have been through, what I have worked for, and what I desire for my family. This history is written solely to throw light upon the period in which I lived and the part I took therein, with no thought as to when it would be published, what it would cost, or what returns would be received therefrom. Certainly there is no thought of making money thereby. My only selfish thought is to dignify the Moyle family of which I am only a part, and the posterity I may leave to honor that name. May God grant that the name may forever exist among my descendants in perpetual honor and usefulness.<sup>1</sup>

To help me in the preparation of this history, I have employed John Henry Evans, who has now (March 1943) given me more than eighteen months of half of his working time, the balance being devoted to the Sunday School Union.<sup>2</sup> I cannot say that I am totally

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<sup>1</sup> Memorandum dated Mar. 1943, Box 9, fd 7; James Henry Moyle Collection, Library-Archives, Historical Department, Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City, hereinafter cited as CLA. All references hereinafter to box and folder (fd) are for items from this collection.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. Evans worked on the Moyle biography until shortly before his death in 1947. He produced two incomplete manuscripts, a "long" and a "short" version. These the family turned over to Gordon B. Hinckley who subsequently published *James Henry Moyle: The Story of a Distinguished American and an Honored Churchman* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Co., 1951). See the Evans manuscripts, Boxes 17-20.

satisfied with the work John Henry is doing; he writes much about very little and very little about much, little that is comprehensive and much about what is not comprehensive.<sup>3</sup> I am especially afraid that John Henry will not tell everything. Every note I have sent to him has been “give the facts,” because I feel that my life story, told truthfully, will be very faith-promoting for any young man in the Church.<sup>4</sup>

### Conversation with President Grant

It may be easiest to explain my apprehension over John Henry’s work with the following incident. On March 11, 1943, President Heber J. Grant invited us to ride with him and Sister Grant, as they have done on a number of occasions. This was an exception, however, because no one else was invited. Heretofore, there were always three or four others invited, generally widows, at least when we were present. The last two or three times, President Grant sat on the front seat with Mrs. Grant. This time he sat behind with me alone; Mrs. Moyle, when I accepted the invitation, declined because of another appointment. That was an excuse, however, because the appointment was with our daughter Sara. My wife did not enjoy the President sitting in front and not turning around when he talked, which he did very freely, often repeating what she had heard before. And it was difficult to catch all he said.<sup>5</sup>

I think he changed seats when Alice declined and had no other company in order to talk freely to me, because my cousin Wilford Wood had asked John Henry Evans to disclose to him for President Grant what I was saying in my history about the Church and the Brethren. I told President Grant that Wood had made the request, and that I had said that I would talk to him (the President) about

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<sup>3</sup> Memorandum dated May 1943, Box 10, fd 1.

<sup>4</sup> Interview with Evelyn Moyle Nelson by Gene A. Sessions, 20 June 1974, transcript of twelve pages, CLA, p. 2. I included this statement because it accorded with many other more lengthy comments on the same subject among the Moyle memoranda.

<sup>5</sup> Memorandum dated Mar. 1943, Box 9, fd 7. “In his last years, President Grant almost daily, when the weather permitted, took a long automobile ride in the country or in near-by picturesque canyons. On these rides he and Mrs. Grant were always accompanied by relatives or friends.” Preston Nibley, *The Presidents of the Church* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Co., 1971), p. 258.

it. This I had also said to Bishop John L. Herrick and suggested that he give the same to the President, which Brother Grant said he had done.

I repeated the Wood matter and my willingness to talk about it. I did not tell him that I was indignant at Wood because he had gone to Evans surreptitiously and not to me. The President merely and somewhat evasively admitted that Wood had acted in his behalf. I do not remember his exact words, but he said no more about it then.

We rode to the mouth of Parley's Canyon, a favorite trip, then on Wasatch Drive to Thirty-third South, then west and home. I was going to Sara's for dinner so I said I would leave them at Third Avenue and A Street, and that I wanted to walk farther and see the beautiful view from there. About two blocks south of President Grant's home, I said I would get out, but he suggested that we stop at his house. So we did, and to my surprise, when I went to get out, he did not, but said to Cannon Lund (who was driving) that he could go and that he would have his son-in-law take care of the car, which was parked at the side of his home on A Street. It was evident that he wanted to talk with me in strict privacy.

We remained a good part of a half hour, maybe more. Several calls were made from his house to aid him in, but he refused.

As soon as we were alone, he said that he was anxious that I not say anything in my history reflecting against President Joseph F. Smith. He extolled Brother Smith, saying how true he was, and that he was possibly the greatest President of the Church. Presumptively, Joseph Smith was in a class by himself, but he said nothing indicating that. He said (though I do not remember his exact language) that Joseph F. never deviated from the right. I asserted that I knew of one deviation which he regretted. I had in mind Joseph F.'s connection with my being removed as attorney from the Consolidated Wagon and Machine Company and his son-in-law, John F. Bowman, taking my place.

In the conversation I referred to the injustice and ingratitude of the leadership of the Church for turning against the Democratic Party and fighting it through the leadership of Apostles Francis M. Lyman and John Henry Smith, and to the strong partisanship of President Smith. I was careful, however, not to

refer to myself or to speak in a way to disturb the nerves of the President. He had said to me that he was very weak and I thought he looked it, more so than when we had ridden together several months before. I called attention to the fact that the Republican Party, from its first platform in 1856, had declared against the twin relics of barbarism "slavery and polygamy," and that its carpetbag officers came to Utah to reform and not to govern the Mormons.<sup>6</sup>

I knew he had of old agreed with me on the injustice of turning against the Democratic Party, but he made no comment on that subject; silence acknowledged consent, for if I had uttered an injustice, he would have quickly expressed himself. I somehow managed to keep it all in such fraternal, friendly conversation that the President took it all in a good spirit. He then admitted that Joseph F. was strongly partisan, but that men of strong convictions generally were. To illustrate President Smith's fairness, he said that the Federal Bunch had tried to put Charles W. Penrose out of business as editor of the *Deseret News*, and had in effect lied about him to President Smith, but that he, knowing or later learning the truth, denounced them severely and made Penrose his counselor in the First Presidency. I said that President Smith had nevertheless stood with them. He seemed anxious to put over the fact that though strongly partisan, President Smith was always true to the right and the great.<sup>7</sup>

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<sup>6</sup> Memorandum dated Mar. 1943, Box 9, fd 7. Moyle had a difficult time understanding how the church could favor the Republicans after all of this. Consequently, he dwelt upon this idea in his notes (that the Republicans had always been against the Mormons), often repeating this "twin relics" phrase as a symbol of that enmity. See Everett L. Cooley, "Carpetbag Rule—Territorial Government in Utah," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 26 (Apr. 1958): 106-29; Richard D. Poll, "The Twin Relic," M.A. thesis, Texas Christian University, 1939.

<sup>7</sup> Memorandum dated Mar. 1943, Box 9, fd 7. The influential leaders of the Utah Republican Party in the early 1900s were nicknamed the "Federal Bunch" by the *Salt Lake Tribune*, because they were generally federal appointees of Senator Reed Smoot. Among heads of the group were Edward H. Callister and James H. Anderson. See William L. Roper and Leonard J. Arrington, *William Spry: Man of Firmness, Governor of Utah* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1971), pp. 5, 68; Jan Shipps, "Utah Comes of Age Politically: A Study of the State's Politics in the Early Years of the Twentieth Century," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 35 (Spring 1967): 99; Frank H. Jonas, "Utah: Crossroads of the West," in Frank H. Jonas, ed., *Western Politics* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1961), pp. 274-76. Moyle considered his effective

What I wanted to present to him was the policy of the *Deseret News* toward me when I went to Washington as Assistant Secretary of the Treasury in 1917. I called his attention to his advice to me to accept the call because of the importance of it and my opportunity to be of service to our people, and the business sacrifice it involved. I also referred to what B. H. Roberts had said in the banquet given me by the leading men of the state, saying it marked a new era in the history of the state, and to the praise given me by the *Salt Lake Tribune* and *Salt Lake Telegram* (then not connected). I repeated the importance all seemed to attach to the matter, except the *Deseret News*, which had nothing to say about it, except that the banquet was notable because of the fact that there was no liquor or tobacco in evidence. To all of this, President Grant offered no comment. So I said to the President that while I was much interested in the foregoing I did not want to trouble him with an answer. I said this to indicate to him what I would like without specifically asking for it, because last year I requested an interview relative to our history and was asked to put my question in writing.<sup>8</sup>

I had heard that of late he had greatly failed mentally. I had not talked to him for several months, though I wanted to, about these and other matters, and I was greatly surprised to observe no evidence of mental degeneration. His mind seemed clear and he understood more readily than I had anticipated. At last, Mrs. Judd [Grant's daughter] came out and insisted that it was time for him to come in, and so he did, but not before he had gotten something of what he wanted. Also, by that time we were enjoying ourselves, laughing freely over old times.<sup>9</sup>

### A Remarkable Span of Experience

It is this kind of experience that I am afraid John Henry Evans cannot deal with freely, because of his Church connections. I want an honest history, a history that will be a contribution to the time

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opposition to the Federal Bunch to be one of the great accomplishments of his political career.

<sup>8</sup> Memorandum dated Mar. 1943, Box 9, fd 7. See *Salt Lake Tribune*, 29 Sept. 1917, 30 Sept. 1917; *Deseret News*, 30 Sept. 1917; *Salt Lake Telegram*, 30 Sept. 1917.

<sup>9</sup> Memorandum dated Mar. 1943, Box 9, fd 7. The president was eighty-six years old at this time.

in which I have lived.<sup>10</sup> For example, it seems to me that I have had a remarkable experience in national politics. My Democratic National Conventions spanned five decades. I attended in Chicago in 1884 when Cleveland was first nominated, also in St. Louis in 1888 (Cleveland again). I was in Kansas City in 1900 for Bryan's second nomination and in Denver for Bryan's third in 1908. I was in Europe when Wilson was nominated in 1912, but I attended banquets at Baltimore and Washington the winter before the convention of 1916. I saw Cox nominated in San Francisco in 1920. I worked for the nomination of McAdoo in New York in 1924, but Davis won it, and again in Houston in 1928 when Smith was nominated. Finally, I witnessed the nomination of the great Franklin D. Roosevelt in the Chicago convention of 1932.

I have seen all of the Presidents of the United States since Lincoln except Johnson, Garfield, and Arthur. I have met all of them from Cleveland to FDR except McKinley. I dined at the White House with Woodrow Wilson and Franklin Roosevelt. I have served officially under three—Wilson, Harding, and Roosevelt. I visited the homes of Hayes and FDR, and considered myself intimate with Bryan. I also visited Cox in Ohio in my capacity of national committeeman.<sup>11</sup>

My public career commenced with my mission to the Southern States in July of 1879. It covers the period of agitation and trial of the Latter-day Saints which followed that of the pioneer struggle for existence. There followed afterwards a period of peace and adjustment for the Saints as they moved into a new era of social, political, financial, and religious amity with their Gentile neighbors. This secured for them "prosperity, wealth, and popularity," and political supremacy in Utah with great influence in adjoining and neighboring states. And finally, it changed the Mormon people from a most despised group to the most respected in the nation. I believe, for example, that there is a greater employment in Washington (per capita) of Mormons than of any other religion.

When I voluntarily left official life in Washington in July of 1940, there were three active, virile, and enthusiastic branches of

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<sup>10</sup> Memorandum dated Feb. 1944, Box 10, fd 4.

<sup>11</sup> Memorandum dated 1942, Box 9, fd 5.

the Church there, fully organized with all the auxiliary organizations. In addition, there was a small branch in the government-constructed model village of Greenbelt in nearby Maryland with branches at Baltimore and elsewhere.<sup>12</sup>

That period of my active life of about sixty-five years will stand in significance next only to that of the epoch-making period of pioneer days, and no other period of equal importance in the history of Utah and Mormonism will follow it unless it be one of degeneration. It was a period of prolonged persecution and social war, followed by a short period of adjustment in which revolutionary changes took place in the social and religious fundamentals of Mormon society. It was the end of a period of social and religious isolation marked by the breaking down of impassable social, religious, and business barriers that all but completely separated Mormon and non-Mormon neighbors, however intimate their daily contact. It was a transformation developed with almost lightning speed; when the key was turned, the door was opened and those barriers suddenly disappeared. The most hated political opponents suddenly became ardent allies. The *Salt Lake Tribune*, which had exhausted the invectives of the English language against the leaders of the Church for nearly half a century, suddenly became the political organ of a very large majority of the leaders of the Mormon Church. Their longtime friend and defender, the *Salt Lake Herald*, was no longer in their favor.<sup>13</sup>

I foresaw that bewildering period as a schoolboy of twenty-five. I foretold of the transformation of the Church and clearly portrayed not only the conditions that exist today but also prophesied that the exact opposite condition would exist from that which then existed. I believed then that the greatest enemy of the Saints would be not religious persecution and intolerant hatred but their own prosperity, wealth, and popularity. That prophecy was published

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<sup>12</sup> Memorandum dated Sept.-Oct. 1942, Box 9, fd 6. See JoAnn Barnett Shippis, "The Mormons in Politics: The First Hundred Years," Ph.D. diss., University of Colorado, 1965.

<sup>13</sup> Memorandum dated Sept.-Oct. 1942, Box 9, fd 6. See J. Cecil Alter, *Early Utah Journalism: A Half-Century of Forensic Warfare Waged by the West's Most Militant Press* (Salt Lake City: Utah State Historical Society, 1938); O. N. Malmquist, *The First 100 Years: A History of the Salt Lake Tribune, 1871-1971* (Salt Lake City: Utah State Historical Society, 1971).

in the *Juvenile Instructor*, on October 1, 1883. It was the result of an intensive study of history, and particularly that of the English people. It developed because of an intense interest in my religion and people. That article produced no disturbance on the troubled water of the day because it came from an obscure school boy, and was so apparently impossible that only fifty years, as I predicted, would work the transformation. Nevertheless, my thinking has been vindicated.<sup>14</sup>

We now boast of the popularity and prosperity achieved under President Grant's administration, and we all greatly enjoy it. I have said publicly and repeatedly that when I was in the East fifty and more years ago (and even later) I found not a few of our people evading the fact that they were "Mormons" for prudential reasons. (Thank God I never did.) But in my recent seven years in high official circles in Washington I found that beyond question, with many high and lower officials and outside of political official life, it was an advantage rather than disadvantage to be known as a Mormon, because of the growing belief that our people were more than usually temperate and moral in their habits, and frugal and industrious in their lives—in other words, dependable. I introduced many applicants for employment saying only that they were good, clean-living Mormon boys or girls.<sup>15</sup>

### **Trends in Mormonism and Mormon Society**

I have always had an abiding, uninterrupted faith in the growth and development of the Church. I have, as heretofore, believed with an immovable and abiding faith in the growth, development, and onward progress of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints and that no deviation therefrom (if there be any) will be permanent. I am deeply grateful to the Lord for this faith and testimony, for there have been some great changes in the Church in my lifetime.

I might here offer some examples as to spiritual trends in the lives of real Latter-day Saints. Up to about the time I went on my last mission twelve years ago (1929), it was not the custom to write

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<sup>14</sup> Memorandum dated Sept.-Oct. 1942, Box 9, fd 6. See James H. Moyle, "Will We Progress?" *Juvenile Instructor*, 1 Oct. 1883, pp. 292-93.

<sup>15</sup> Memorandum dated Sept.-Oct. 1942, Box 9, fd 6. See below, chap. 3.

or read addresses in the assemblies of the Saints. So far as I remember and could observe, the theory or philosophy was that speakers should rely upon the inspiration of the Lord, but should nevertheless keep their minds as richly stored with information as possible. Fifty years ago to read an ordinary address on an ordinary occasion without some special reason would have shocked the spiritual sensibilities of the Latter-day Saints. As a mission president, I spoke for a few minutes at each general conference. Every active member of the Church was a minuteman presumed to be ready to do his best whenever called with only a real reliance on the Spirit of the Lord to help him. Some may have kept an address on hand, but I was not prudent enough to have a talk prepared for the occasion when I might be called. If I did so I realized that it might be ten years before I would be so called and that the address would be out of date. I was too lazy to keep an up-to-date address on ice. Yet I was no more lazy than the ordinary member. The fact was that it was inconsistent with the general conception of spiritual activity and duty. It meant reliance on self and not the Lord.

Again fifty years ago, and for a long time afterwards, it was a rare and serious occasion when a doctor was called to serve the sick, unless a surgeon was needed to amputate or try to save a limb, or an injured member of the body. Such was the practice in my father's family and with practically all of our neighbors. The first thought in my mind, and in that of my devoted mother and our neighbors, was to follow the advice of James: "If there are any sick among you, call the elders and let them anoint with oil, and the prayer of faith shall heal the sick."<sup>16</sup>

When our neighborhood learned that the President of the Church and the chief officers of the Church had regularly attended physicians whose services were actively called into use even when the sickness was not serious, it was something of a shock. In Salt Lake City the custom spread, especially as wealth increased, until now it is the rule rather than the exception. The money notwithstanding, it was a fact that remarkable cures were frequently if not commonly effected by the administrations of the elders and the faith of the patient and his family, and with the aid of an uneducated, pioneer mother's remedies. In my very early life we neither

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<sup>16</sup> Memorandum dated 1941, Box 9, fd 4. See James 5:14.

knew of nor had heard of dangerous disease germs, and social diseases were intolerable and confined to the criminals and their unfortunate associations.

As a child, if I were sick and felt seriously ill, my first anxiety and request was that the elders of the Priesthood should be called to administer to me. My faith was implicit that I would be healed, and I was. Mother was a real pioneer, and she gave me tea, castor oil, herbs, and other home remedies and applied herbal applications for bruises, strains, and other injuries. If the trouble was obstinate, Daddy Bussel from across the street, an old English herbalist, was called. I never had a doctor until about sixteen or seventeen when it became necessary to amputate my left forefinger. Mother had thirteen children, which in those days was a common but crowning achievement among good Mormon women, but now shocking to many. I was the oldest. No doctor ever aided Mother at childbirth and such was the case with most neighbors unless something very serious developed. Mother never had any aid except from Sister Duncanson, an old Scotch neighbor who brought into the world all the babies of the neighborhood. There might have been an exception I do not recall, but it would be only another less popular midwife. I do not think Mother remained inactive ever for more than two weeks. She invariably felt ready to resume her active duties in about a week. The midwife had difficulty in keeping her in bed over a week if that long. She was unusually strong and healthy. I am sure her life would have been prolonged if she had not been so strenuous and prolific.

Again, down to the time that I commenced to practice law in 1885, there were rare cases of court litigation. In harmony with the scriptures, it was an actual violation of religious duty to sue a brother in the courts of the land, except in cases involving titles to land and corporations, of which there were very few then. The Church held that corporation officers must follow the law, and that only the courts could handle land titles effectively. The Church maintained in my opinion the finest, least expensive, most expeditious system of adjudicating controversies ever established. It, however, was only fit for a community of Church members who respected and upheld the decisions of such courts. It worked effectively until non-members of the Church became numerous and complications arose over financial transactions in

which non-members were involved. The systems worked fairly well down to the real estate boom of 1888 and 1889, and the severe panic of 1893. The boom brought many Gentiles into Salt Lake City and Ogden. Corporations were rapidly increasing and the panic frequently required quick action by attachment and otherwise to secure payment of indebtedness. If members did not attach and get legal judgments and liens on debtors' property and income, then non-members only would be paid. For a good illustration, my bishop, an exceptionally splendid man, was in the mercantile business in Salt Lake City. All ward bishops presided over a bishop's court. But he came to me and said, "I have never sued a brother. And it greatly disturbs me to do so, but I must or go into bankruptcy and let the property of my debtors be taken by the strangers who have recently come among us." The conclusion was inevitable, and suits at law rapidly became common. Soon, the work of the Church courts diminished greatly, until the Mormon community differed little in law procedures from other communities.<sup>17</sup>

### Reflecting a Greater Moyle Family

I want also my history to reflect in the highest degree its primary object—a greater Moyle family than I found it. The great moving cause of my life was an abiding interest in my family. I want my experiences related so that they will be interesting and at the same time show my concern for the advancement of my family and my people. I always firmly believed in the greatness of my heritage, and remained loyal to it. Recognizing in my grandfather and father embryonic virtues and merits, indeed the basic elements of greatness, I was determined that those elements would emerge apparent in me.<sup>18</sup>

Notwithstanding my backwardness as a young boy due to really dreadful bashfulness and an apparent lack of confidence in myself, I had from my early teens an intense desire for my father to be

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<sup>17</sup> Memorandum dated 1941, Box 9, fd 4. See David Michael Emmons, "The Boomers' Frontier: Land Promotion and the Settlement of the Central Plains, 1854-1893," Ph.D. diss., University of Colorado, 1969; Leonard J. Arrington, *Great Basin Kingdom: An Economic History of the Latter-day Saints, 1830-1900* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1958), pp. 380-412.

<sup>18</sup> Undated memorandum, Box 9, fd 1.

recognized in community activities as a leader. I felt that he was superior to his neighbors intellectually and as a man, though he was not educated and had not distinguished himself intellectually. But few had. It was then a real struggle to obtain the needs of the family. Father did as well as any mechanic did, and I do not remember when he did not take important contracts. I distinctly remember his building the Walker Brothers' Store in 1869 when I was eleven. About that time he built the Woodmansee store on the other side of Main Street with a cut stone front that stood until only recently. It was just below the southeast corner of Main and First South. Then later he put up the Amussen Building which was a very solid stone structure which will last as long as a two-story building is practical. The Walker Building on the northwest corner of Main and Second South is also still standing. All three were considered to be outstanding structures in those days. But Father was not made bishop or counselor which were the outstanding honors then for ordinary men, or likewise city councillor. The bishop then commonly served for life, and became the top man in almost everything of local importance.<sup>19</sup>

Father had the intellect, firmness, courage, and character to have placed himself higher than he rose but for one commendable weakness: modesty. He had been born and reared in humble circumstances, with no one around him who elevated himself beyond master mechanic, which he and his father were, or like his grandfather Beer, who was an employer of small proportions of mason mechanics as a building contractor. He did have government contracts which indicates that he was not a small contractor. It is true that Father's grandfather, James Moyle, could write in a very good hand, so he probably did much writing. But another significant reason for Father's failure to go higher was the premature ending of his life at age fifty-six.<sup>20</sup>

He was made a high councilor in the Salt Lake Stake in 1887

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<sup>19</sup> Memorandum dated Sept. 1945, Box 13, fd 1. The term "mechanic" in Moyle's vocabulary pertained to its older meaning of "skilled manual laborer" as opposed to the more modern application which refers to "one who works with machines."

<sup>20</sup> Memorandum dated Feb. 1944, Box 10, fd 4. See Gene A. Sessions, ed., "Biographies and Reminiscences from the James Henry Moyle Collection," unpublished manuscript, 1974, CLA, secs. 4, 16.

when it constituted the city and county of Salt Lake and about one-third of the territory of Utah, but it was even more than that in importance. Since I was elected county attorney in 1886, I took some interest in the fact that my prominence might have added to his dignity and stature, for he had greatly contributed to promoting, as a father and benefactor, the ambition that made me the first young Mormon to go east to study law with the formality of a blessing to do so by the President of the Church. It is also a fact that I was the only college-bred Mormon in the county who was fitted for the place in 1886. LeGrand Young would not accept the job. I was therefore holding down the place creditably in 1887 when Father's appointment was made. And remember, that was a far greater distinction than now. I take real pride believing that he thought his distinction in that respect was at least partially due to having a son who had become outstanding. But I know he merited the place on his own account and probably would have been selected in any event.<sup>21</sup>

#### **My Youthful Ambitions**

Next, the ambition developed for the family to be honored, the name of Moyle recognized, and for me to become something. For though I felt handicapped by my bashfulness, I always felt that it was in me to get somewhere worthwhile ultimately, way beyond that humble sphere in which all lived with whom I was intimately surrounded.

It was probably when I was a boy of about fifteen that I read Pollard's *Lost Cause*, an account of the Civil War with a brief biography of Abraham Lincoln. The possibilities that Lincoln demonstrated were all I needed. The one sphere not occupied by the sons of the most potent Mormons was that of lawyer. Our people did not go to law with each other, in the courts of the land. Their relations were almost exclusively with each other. (I think I was more than ten years old when the first non-Mormon lived in the Fifteenth Ward, which was a large ward, located from Second West to the western limits of the city, and bounded on the north by South Temple Street.) Lawyer and liar were synonymous terms. For a few dollars a lawyer would espouse either side of a cause. Little was

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<sup>21</sup> Memorandum dated Feb. 1944, Box 10, fd 4. See below, chap. 4.

known about the fine ethics of attorneys-at-law. Many of them were not educated for the law and knew or cared but little about the ethics of the profession. They were rather the scrubs of the profession. A *real* lawyer was the height of honor and responsibility, and stood high among the best of citizens who knew him.<sup>22</sup>

As my ambitions developed, I found the choice places in life, like that of an appointment to Annapolis or West Point, were filled by sons of the most prominent men. For example, Willard Young was at West Point, his brother at Annapolis (sons of Brigham Young) and Richard W., a grandson of Brigham Young, was there or on the way to it. I had nothing but a humble background, and was not exceptionally bright. I had not made in my classes in school even a *good* showing due to my diffidence. Harry Haines was the first teacher to observe any merits I had. And he took a real interest in me, even inviting me to visit him in his room.

Haines had no family and lived in a single room, and there he aided me to make my first address. It was some unusual school affair or exhibition of what we were doing. All I remember about the address was referring to my insufficiency and saying (due entirely to Harry Haines), "I am not a Demosthenes or Cicero. . . ." I might have forgotten about that speech but for the fact that George M. Cannon, a friendly schoolmate, as long as he lived continually reminded me of the "I-am-not-a-Demosthenes-or-Cicero" speech. In fact he remembered more of it than I did or do now. I think George, one of the brightest of our students and a fine young man, was a little jealous of the attention given me by the teacher. He made by far a better showing in school than I did. And there was nothing against him. He was a nice person.<sup>23</sup>

As I seriously contemplated doing what my ambition was impelling me to do, I concluded that due to my backwardness and lack of ability, I must go east to a good law school and there make a

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<sup>22</sup> Memorandum dated Sept. 1945, Box 13, fd 1. *The Lost Cause*, by Edward Albert Pollard (1828-72), was a romantic history of the Confederate effort in the Civil War. Pollard was a Virginia lawyer who staunchly supported the South but bitterly opposed the policies of Jefferson Davis. He wrote several other books on the war and the South, all full of the folklore and idealism of mid-nineteenth-century literature.

<sup>23</sup> Memorandum dated Sept. 1945, Box 13, fd 1. Demosthenes and Cicero are the Greek and Roman epitomes of great orators, such as Daniel Webster in the American forensic pantheon.

good record which would give me the needed standing and start in life. I did not lack confidence in myself that I would make good with such a start. I was more than willing to work to the limit, and believed further that it was an absolute necessity. I have never changed my mind as to that subject. It cannot be too often repeated that work is the greatest of all genius, although I must admit that I did not know that then.

When very young and diffident and for some considerable time, I was ashamed or too modest to let even my father or mother or most intimate companion know what was my unalterable purpose to do. When I did tell anyone, it was with the most solemn promise that he or she would tell no one. I believed I would be subjected to ridicule not only because of the prejudice of everyone I knew against a young Mormon going east to study law but because I believed I would be regarded by all as ridiculous and vain for thinking of such a thing. I have written elsewhere of the opposition to my going east of neighbors, bishop, stake president, and even of the President of the Church in 1882. Now (in 1945) this seems inconceivable, and has for a long time. I am proud now of my pioneering in that problem. And it was *real* pioneering then for an active Latter-day Saint. Though there were rare cases of young Mormons going east to study law, they were not active Church workers as I was and did not meet the issue and solve it as I did. I know of three only who preceded me. One left the Church while away from it, one left the territory and cast his lot in the Northwest among strangers and had nothing further to do with the Church, and the other became a partner of one of the most bitter of all anti-Mormons, and was not active in the Church, though he retained his membership and became more active in later life when completely separated from his old partner. I do not suggest that the partner dominated him, because he was very high-minded and honorable, but how he tolerated the association can only be accounted for in that the firm acted occasionally as attorneys for Brigham Young and the Church. The great irony is that the three I refer to here were the sons of very prominent Church leaders—Presidents Brigham Young and John Taylor, and President Joseph Young of the Seventies.<sup>24</sup>

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<sup>24</sup> Memorandum dated Sept. 1945, Box 13, fd 1. Reference is to Alfales Young,

### My Father's Limited Sphere

I had, as previously stated, smarted as a little boy under the humiliation that Father had never been selected for bishop or bishop's counselor or city councillor—places that seemed to be within the reach of our ward members. Anything higher than that was not contemplated in my tender, early days. All our near neighbors were humble men; we did not live in the realm of the higher ups. We were on the outskirts of the city with no neighbors on the immediate south, and only one street west of us which ended at Second South. Had he lived a normal lifespan, as he easily might have, and had he not been tied down with about all he could do in providing for his two families of six children in each with two mothers, he might have gone farther up, though I am unable to point in what direction. In the Eighteenth Ward into which he moved in 1887, there was much less opportunity for a culturally uneducated and uncultivated mind that had lived and moved in the atmosphere so nearly composed of working people for fifty-six years.

It is true that his high council surroundings were very different. The chief work of the high council of those days, next in importance to the selection of stake and ward officers and instructions to them, was the trial of controversies between members of the Church. While the teachers' and bishops' trials disposed of many cases, it was in the high council where the important cases went either by original action or appeal from the bishop's court. An appeal from the high council decision could go to the First Presidency on the record made in the high council, but that, like appeals to the Supreme Court, was very rare. Hence, Father was often out at those trials all night in order to save another night at it, and he would come home as late as two or three in the morning.<sup>25</sup>

The Eighteenth Ward was a classy community compared

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Bruce Taylor, and LeGrand Young.

<sup>25</sup> Memorandum dated Feb. 1944, Box 10, fd 4. James Moyle was called to the Salt Lake Stake High Council in 1887 shortly after he moved into the Eighteenth Ward and served thereon until his death on 8 December 1890. See his short biography in Andrew Jenson, *Latter-day Saint Biographical Encyclopedia*, 4 vols. (1901; reprint ed., Salt Lake City: Western Epics, 1971), L:776-78. See also D&C 102; Joseph Smith, Jr., *History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints*, ed. by B. H. Roberts, 7 vols. (Salt Lake City: Deseret News Press, 1904), 2:28-31.

with the Fifteenth where we had always lived. Bishop Orson F. Whitney, a writer, poet, historian, and member of a prominent Church family, led the array of notables who lived within a stone's throw of Brigham's grave. Father's home was on what theretofore had been a part of the President's personal orchard and gardens adjoining his chief residences. The locality was the homes of the Youngs, Kimballs, Wellses, the President of the Church, the Richardses, Clawsons, Claytons, Spencers, Colonel Webber (Superintendent of ZCMI), the Pratts, Caines, Jenningses, and Church offices and the center of culture and wealth in the city. The result was that Father again became a comparative commoner. Nevertheless, it was not until after he had moved into this neighborhood in May of 1887 that he was ordained a high priest and made a high councilor. (He had been previously in the presidency of a quorum of seventies.) He had reached his zenith of official distinction. Even so, he might have become a city councillor had he remained in the Fifteenth Ward. In those days the best men available were elected, so to be a member of the city council was to be numbered among the highly regarded members of the community.

At all events, that was certainly gravitating upward from being only a leading ward teacher who was called on to lead in such things as building a nice new meeting house, or district school trustee. Father was ward school trustee. Our sphere in the Fifteenth Ward had been that of lowlanders near the outskirts of the city. It was from that status that the family has emerged and become not only well-known through the state, but I know highly regarded as one of the prominent families of Utah, and how anxious I am for them at least to hold their own as I pray and believe they will. That was the first and the greatest ambition of my life.<sup>26</sup>

#### **Loyalty and Conflict in the Church**

For more than seventy years I would have given my life for the Church, if I know myself, notwithstanding the fact that I was not a Church favorite but most of the time quite the opposite. I had no potential leader in the Church at any time to promote my

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<sup>26</sup> Memorandum dated Feb. 1944, Box 10, fd 4.

interests, or one especially interested in my welfare. Outside of my humble father I had no acquaintance to even encourage me in the career I planned, when about fourteen, and which I followed throughout my life. On the contrary, those with whom I was most intimately associated thought it was a mistake and folly for me to attempt to be a lawyer. So this morning, very early, I was meditating upon my past life, and the question forced itself upon my mind most impressively: Why have I been a loyal Mormon so long and so consistently? Why have I been willing and responsive to every call the Church has ever made on me to serve its interests without any promise of earthly reward and whatever the sacrifice or service to be rendered? The Church is noted for making calls on those who willingly respond, and I was no exception to the rule. Why have I paid to the Church one-tenth of my personal earning and the net income from all other sources of every nature and kind all of my life?<sup>27</sup>

While greatly absorbed in making a living from necessity in my profession, my heart was always in religion and public life. Because I was so absorbed in making a living and keeping in close touch with politics, the leadership of the Church turned a cold shoulder to me and I was not welcomed into the inner circles of higher authority. But I was always a propagandist of so-called Mormonism, even to the extent of depriving myself of the things like tea, coffee, wine, which I naturally liked. I also attended Church when I did not feel like it but quite to the contrary, because I felt it a duty and wanted to be a consistent exemplar of my religion and to lead my children to follow in my footsteps. All of this I did in the devoutly sincere belief that great eternal blessings would flow into me, including health, progress, and happiness in this life. I want to emphasize that my devotion to religion *and* politics cost me much in labor, money, and deprivation of the passing pleasures which seemed to call for indulgences I could not afford if I wanted to preserve my religion and to maintain my good name.<sup>28</sup>

As I ponder the intellectual, spiritual, and material (or earthly and selfish) conflicts that have been the tone of my life, I am

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<sup>27</sup> Memorandum dated Feb.-Apr. 1944, Box 10, fd 6.

<sup>28</sup> Memorandum dated Dec. 1934, Box 9, fd 3.

impressed as never before with the clear fact that when I have devoted myself to intellectual effort, there has followed intellectual development, corresponding with the extent and intensity of the effort. The same occurred spiritually when in spiritual activities. When I devoted myself to making money, promoting my professional career and political ambition, I grew and developed in those directions according to the effort made in each. There were periods in each in which the development was clearly manifest. My knowledge and abilities in each direction was very evident. When my mind and time were engrossed in something more than anything else it influenced my thought and obscured to a significant degree all else.

That was true in detail when I was on my first mission as a boy. At the conclusion of that mission and notwithstanding my life's passion for an education and to become a lawyer and a force for good at home, I would have accepted a call from the Church to go on a ten-year mission to any heathen land, however backward it might be, even with the prospect of blighting my passion for education and intellectual development and the absorbing ambition of my life to get somewhere and be somebody in the sphere of usefulness and honor. The same thing occurred when at the University of Michigan, where a new world of thought absorbed my soul, and an intellectual growth took place of which I was unconscious until I came home and came into contact with my old associates and former surroundings. Then I discovered that my outlook and views had been broadened and changed materially, though the fundamentals had remained the same. My mind had been broadened, my views and attitudes so enlarged that I saw the same things in a different light, and I literally painted realities in somewhat different colors.<sup>29</sup>

Again, when I became absorbed with my profession and politics and was at war politically with the great majority of the leading Church authorities, my religious friends thought that I would leave the Church and were greatly concerned about it. There I was, absorbed with the earthly and selfish things of life, but always standing stoutly for the things I believed to be vital and worth fighting to uphold. But I was not making progress, to say

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<sup>29</sup> Memorandum dated Mar. 1945, Box 12, fd 2. See below, chap. 3.

the least, spiritually or religiously, because I was moved to the depths and absorbed in real combat with the men who were my spiritual standard-bearers in the Church for which I had always been ready to make any sacrifice, and still was. But again, there was a change in my attitude toward them and in my views. I could see their failings in a brighter light and much easier than before.<sup>30</sup>

There was a change in my outlook and views which I had to reconcile and harmonize. This was not an easy task, for I believed they had lowered their standards of spiritual guidance, even though I realized that they were not acting in a spiritual capacity but a purely political one. They themselves in the 1890s had declared that the political was separated from the spiritual, and that all members of the Church were not to be molested in politics by their ecclesiastical leaders in exercising their political privileges and duties as citizens. Yet, for my politics I was dropped from all official religious activity for nearly ten years around the turn of the century, but I never deviated from the religious affairs first at home and then in renewed missionary service, wherein, according to that activity and intensity of devotion to religious service, I enjoyed spiritual growth and religious happiness I could not have realized when in conflict with religious leaders. At the conclusion of my mission presidency in the early 1930s, both my wife and I were deeply impressed with the happiness that unselfish work had brought into our lives. No period in our married life had compared with it in real joy. That was reaffirmed in our seven years in Washington that followed and also will never be forgotten. Making money and losing some of it, and making more and keeping it, and the pleasure of spending and social gaiety, do not compare with the deeper and more lasting joy that comes to one for devotion and service unselfishly rendered in the interest of others, especially when done in the belief that it pertains not only to the fleeting days on earth but eternity. Again, nothing else compares with it, for the joy therefrom is completely unique. My conclusion is that come what may, there is only one way to keep in time and touch with the infinite, and that is by cultivating and following the divine light that is ever present and evident to all who live unselfishly and who daily pray for it and keep in touch with that which

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<sup>30</sup> Memorandum dated Mar. 1945, Box 12, fd 2. See below, chaps. 4-5.

develops it. That Savior of all mankind pointed the way and gave the keys to the happiness and the way to life eternal when he left his apostles and ascended to heaven, and said: "Go ye into all the world and preach the gospel to every creature and he that believeth and is baptized shall be saved and he that believeth not shall be damned." So the Lord's Supper is very important. Without partaking of the sacrament, the symbol of all righteousness, when available, with pure intent and faith in Christ, the everlasting fellowship of the Holy Ghost and the spirit of Divinity will be lost. No matter how much good you may have done, virtue exhibited in your life, or the spiritual manifestations you may have witnessed, and faith you may once have had, you will fall away from the Church.<sup>31</sup>

### **Conservatism and the Church**

Yet with all of this I cannot very well refrain from writing of our Church leaders and their conservatism. It is a strange but explainable phenomenon. In the first place they have always had conservative tendencies. Whenever an institution becomes an established, recognized, and permanent power, it becomes easy to be in sympathy with other institutional powers, and that is the seed-bed of conservatism. It is much like gravity. Kindred souls harmonize. Think, for example, of the depths to which the Church sank in supporting Russian autocracy.<sup>32</sup> Its extremes justified the revolution against it, for its virtues could not obliterate its atrocities from the souls of men. That which happened to the once noble Catholic Church in the Middle Ages was due to similar elements of reaction and love of power. But the policy of supporting what is rather than what should be has been one of the most fatal errors of mankind. For long-established institutions naturally become static unless the right prevails over the wrong, and the wrong had always prevailed where stagnation set in, because man either progresses or retrogresses. There is no such a thing in the plan of divinity as standing still. Man either goes forward or backward.

The active forces in the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints today are operating on very different lines than in the days of my youth, though they are fundamentally the same. In other

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<sup>31</sup> Memorandum dated Mar. 1945, Box 12, fd 2.

<sup>32</sup> Memorandum dated Nov. 1944, Box 11, fd 4.

words, the Church today is perfecting the organizational details of the main fundamentals of pioneer days. Then it was a struggle for the extension of comforts, and so the concomitant emphasis in the Church is upon the perfection of the machinery of operation in the organization. It is rapidly becoming multitudinous in its detailed operations. The meetings of the priesthood are now multiplied out of sight of what they were when I was a boy, and I think more than doubled since I became a high councilman in 1904. For example, the presidency of the high priests' quorum consisted largely of presiding at a monthly meeting. Now it is a complicated mechanism, and nearly a full-time job.

Today, the Church organization, with its new committees, keeps a detailed record of every man—what he is, what he does, and what can be expected of him in minute detail. I think it compares favorably with the most perfectly organized industry, bank, manufactory, transportation, or other business corporation. The Presiding Bishop, the President of the Church, the president of a stake, or the bishop of a ward has convenient reports of the weekly religious activities of every male member of the Church. That kind of information was carried only in the minds of men in a very general way when I became active in Church government. But the point I should like to make is that the power of wealth and its influence on men has spilled over into Church administration. I have in mind particularly the influence of wealth on the men who determine the policy of the great Church of Utah, and how much it has to do with the politics of the state. The policy-making for the Church is determined by the First Presidency, in consultation with the Quorum of the Twelve. When they agree on fundamentals, the Presidency carries out the policy much as a president and manager of a great corporation does with the executive committee (the Twelve) in the background. The President, of course, exercises a veto power. His conclusion is the final word. To determine from without what that word will be is a very difficult proposition. For in the Church, the major issues are determined only after prayer and supplication for divine guidance. No one on the outside can determine how far the latter is controlling, and even the President himself may be in doubt as to just where the lines should be drawn and what the decision should be.

One thing can be noted with certainty, and that is that when a decision is made on matters which are to be approved by the Priesthood generally and Church members, it will stand effectively, and there are rare cases where it is revised or abandoned. But in the details not so acted upon, mistakes are made more or less like those of all mortal activities. So that system works out admirably in the end. As to politics, which have always weighed heavily on my mind, there are striking variations. My views have been in serious conflict with those of the First Presidency as a rule on what I call the major issues, but which I admit may not be such. I may have in my mind a narrower horizon than they have. All I want to do is to present my views and let them stand on their merits so that each person can enjoy the freedom of conviction. In rendering my conclusions, I try to take into consideration the environment in which I and they move. In that respect, I attach much importance to the environment of wealth with which the members of the First Presidency are now surrounded. I thoroughly believe the human environment, more than the spiritual, has much to do with important decisions, as do also the background of the individuals, and their characteristics, personal and otherwise. For example, the President of the Church has long been a director of the Union Pacific Railroad and enjoys the privileges and advantages of that office such as an occasional private car, travel privileges, director's compensation, etc. His point of view is therefore naturally altered by that human experience.<sup>33</sup>

#### **Church Interference in Politics**

From the time of the first Democratic state convention in the Salt Lake Theater, in which I took a prominent part, until even long after I was made a high councilman at the creation of the Ensign Stake, I was viewed with serious doubt because of my outspoken fight against the leadership of the Church in politics, and notably against the activities of Apostles Francis Lyman and John Henry Smith who personally worked with Mormon Democrats to become Republicans while visiting conferences, attending priesthood meetings, and in every other way possible. I also spoke

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<sup>33</sup> Memorandum dated Nov. 1944, Box 11, fd 4.

out against the quiet and indirect influence in the same direction of the President of the Church, Joseph F. Smith, which unmistakably indicated his wishes. His will and wishes were all some needed to know to cause them to change their affiliations, in anything whatever, except religious principles. Yet, for Utah to obtain statehood was always the great political goal which the Republican Party nationally opposed. Its national platforms always carried a declaration against slavery and polygamy, the latter of which everybody recognized as a declaration against Mormonism. The orthodox clergy quite generally demanded it, and all recognized and believed Mormonism and polygamy to be synonymous, and that polygamy was the chief cornerstone and foundation of Mormonism.

Republican carpetbag territorial officials thought they had the duty of reforming the Mormons religiously as well as politically. That was the prevailing attitude of Republican official domination at the time when Utah was making its many efforts to obtain statehood and was continually denied by Republican administrations and congresses. There were always distinguished Democrats from the South who, while disclaiming in Congress equally with Republicans any sympathy for polygamy, proclaimed their democratic belief and devotion to the right of even the Mormons to govern themselves. State sovereignty is the fundamental and chief cornerstone of Democratic principles, and Utah should ever keep green the memory of the names of those southern Senators and Congressmen, and of Jeremiah Black of Pennsylvania, and finally of Grover Cleveland who signed Utah's enabling act.

But a deal was evidently made by President Joseph F. Smith, Bishop Hiram Clawson, and maybe some others, to make Utah Republican, notwithstanding the fact that the first administration having an opportunity and the sympathy to give Utah freedom from carpetbag rule was Democratic. In justification for President Smith's action (he was a counselor at the time to the President of the Church), it was claimed with some justification that Republican help was needed to insure the passage of the bill. The details as to that I leave to the historian. It is true, however, that by all the rules governing my life, the Democrats and not the Republicans (al-

though some Republicans voted for the measure) were entitled to the credit.<sup>34</sup>

I cannot get away from the foregoing history, however much I might like to make a better showing for our religious leaders. I do believe more now than I did in the sincerity and purity of their purpose. And I am sure of their loyalty to their people. I am also sure, however, that they, very *humanly*, and after becoming avowed Republicans, became narrow and objectionable partisans, such as Latter-day Saints in present times would resent at the polls if not elsewhere. As to my own status with the Church leaders, they gradually moderated and softened, so that before the death of President Joseph F. Smith, whom I considered the most efficient enemy of the Democratic Party, he frankly did me the justice of saying that I was a manly opponent who fought in the open and never struck below the belt. He said this both to Heber J. Grant and to General Richard W. Young.<sup>35</sup>

The similar problem with which I am wrestling currently is what has led the President of the Church to create an atmosphere around him in his headquarters and among those near him and who look to him for leadership in all things, of the most intense opposition to the President of the United States. I believe that the man who has been elected President of the Nation four times cannot deserve the downright hatred of the leadership of the Church. Still, that atmosphere encourages the belief that the man thus trusted and respected is the greatest enemy the nation has had within its boundaries, that he is leading the nation into Communism, and to the destruction of our sacred Constitution and what has come to be known as the American way of life. I do not know that I have overdrawn the picture. I would not do it knowingly. Pending the election, the Presiding Patriarch of the Church said to his confidential friend, my son-in-law, that he did not see how a Latter-day Saint could consistently vote to support

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<sup>34</sup> Memorandum dated Dec. 1934, Box 9, fd 3. See Gustive O. Larson, *The "Americanization" of Utah for Statehood* (San Marino, CA: Huntington Library, 1971), pp. 283-304. See also the bitter but interesting primary account of this "deal" in Frank J. Cannon and Harvey J. O'Higgins, *Under the Prophet in Utah* (Boston: C. M. Clarke, 1911). The definitive work on the subject is Edward Leo Lyman, *Political Deliverance: The Mormon Quest for Utah Statehood* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1986).

<sup>35</sup> Memorandum dated Dec. 1934, Box 9, fd 3.

President Roosevelt, putting the issue on religious grounds. He is a former professor of speech at the University of Utah, a student and a thinker, but for years living in the atmosphere to which I refer. President Grant himself is reliably represented as saying that he turns the radio off when the President speaks over it even on questions of importance, and that his blood pressure goes up dangerously when one whom he respects speaks to him in a pronounced way about the virtues of the President. I am his life-long friend, and heretofore felt free to express myself on partisan politics to him, but for about two or more years refrained from doing so for fear that it would be injurious to his health. Mrs. Richard W. Young, a Roosevelt enthusiast, while his guest on an automobile ride, openly opposed his views concerning President Roosevelt, and President Grant's family reported that the conversation was highly injurious to the feeble Brother Grant.<sup>36</sup>

If I am mistaken and Presidents Grant and Clark are justified, then the greater the glory for them and the greater the condemnation for me. My purpose is righteous. I want nothing written or done that would suggest anything else. I attach real importance to this subject, and I want to verify my facts and conclusions as far as I can do so. May God help me to avoid error and especially injustice. I am conscious of dealing with a delicate subject and want to avoid arousing doubts about the divinity of the work the men I differ with politically are doing. They are good and faithful men devoted to the cause of truth and justice, but after all, fallible men are all the Lord has on earth to use. Those thus used are so much like other men that it is hard to determine whether they are inspired of God on a particular issue or by their own mortal, fallible views. We are all more or less what our associations and interests make us. We can cultivate unconsciously error or truth, one as easily as the other. I want to be right, but it is often easy to mistake error for truth. Yet I am determined that truth shall be my guide, and that I will be true to the truth come what may. Indeed, my ambition and hope for the truth grows with my later years, but I have always wanted to be the enemy of error. I have sought

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<sup>36</sup> Memorandum dated Nov. 1944, Box 11, fd 4. See Frank H. Jonas, "Utah: The Different State," in Frank H. Jonas, ed., *Politics in the American West* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1969), pp. 332-33.

strongly for what I conceived to be the right, and now as an octogenarian more than ever, I am deeply impressed with the thought that exposure of error in this case will be healthy.

I am continually amazed and shocked that the leadership of the Church today interferes in politics with such a one-sided, partisan view. My chagrin increases as I contemplate the declaration of the Church leaders in 1895, when they were praying for statehood, that pledged complete noninterference in politics. I am impressed, possibly unduly, with the inconsistency of the position of the Brethren regarding politics, because of the probability that the future will not justify the same. On the contrary, if the future does justify them, which seems now unlikely, what a striking evidence it will be of their divine guidance, and my lack of that wisdom for which I have fervently prayed. In any case, I have no doubt about the Church going forward regardless of the mistakes of their leaders in matters such as politics which they have so specifically and publicly declared were out of their sphere, particularly so far as relates to ecclesiastical influence being used to lead the people in matters concerning how they should vote in purely political affairs. I repeat, they have specifically declared that ecclesiastical influence would *not* be used in politics, but that the voter should be free from Church influence in determining how and for whom he would vote. That, of course, did not preclude the official Church news organ from keeping its readers informed on the issues of an election, and the dangers it involved. What I denounce and believe to be an error is that in presenting those dangers to public welfare, only *one side* is given. The policy-making of the paper is in the hands of strong conservatives who had no commendation or even tolerance for the New Deal reforms of the 1930s. Ironically enough, those conservatives now (1944) support the New Deal through their support of the Republican candidates, who not only approve of those reforms but propose to widen their sphere significantly. So the *News*, in effect, opposes the greater conservatism of FDR whose leadership the Church authorities seem to believe is a real menace to the nation.<sup>37</sup>

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<sup>37</sup> Memorandum dated Nov. 1944, Box 11, fd 3. This is an interesting twist on Roosevelt with which historians may or may not agree. For some strong but critical agreement (on Roosevelt's conservatism), see particularly Barton J. Bernstein, "The

When the editorials in the *Deseret News* opened a campaign in 1944 to undermine the sentiment in favor of FDR, it was apparent that they were scraping the bottom of the can to find the littlest excuse for sniping at the President. Just how far did it speak or encourage loyalty to the head of the nation who was performing magnificently in battling the most important threat civilization itself ever confronted? At the same time it was giving direct aid and encouragement to the Republican candidate for the Presidency, youthful and inexperienced in every sphere which would qualify him for action in the leadership of war and international peace. It was a real case of wanting to send a boy to mill in a storm never before equalled or even thought of, and at a time when the inexperienced Republican was basing his campaign chiefly on the grounds that he could do the job more efficiently than President Roosevelt whose entire life had been devoted to qualifying himself for that work he was doing so well. What a pitiful sight it presents for men claiming to be guided by divine light in a matter of such importance and in which they know so many look to the *Deseret News* for the most accurate and non-partisan information. It is even worse to contemplate the fact that after the election, the only word of Christian expression regarding the decisive decision of the people that the *News* could come up with was that loyalty to government demands that we must all support the decision that has been made. Is there anything *less* that it could have said?<sup>38</sup>

My radio address of November 4, 1944, was approved as no other I ever delivered, by prominent life-long Republicans and Democrats, Mormons and non-Mormons. The one thing that brought the most favorable comment was the courage it required to speak of the *Deseret News* as I did. It was generally believed (as

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New Deal: The Conservative Achievements of Liberal Reform," in Barton J. Bernstein, ed., *Towards a New Past: Dissenting Essays in American History* (New York, 1968); Paul K. Conkin, *The New Deal* (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Co., 1967). Moyle consistently refused to deny positively the correctness of the position of the Mormon leaders with regard to interference in politics, but he was apparently convinced within himself that they had allowed their personal desires to override their sense of responsibility as ecclesiastes. See also Circular Letter of the First Presidency, CR 1-1, 4-6 Apr. 1896, CLA.

<sup>38</sup> Memorandum dated Nov. 1944, Box 11, fd 3. See *News* editorials through the fall of 1944. See especially *Deseret News*, 8 Nov. 1944.

the fact was) that I also included conspicuously Church leaders among those who had shocked my sensibilities by charging the President of the United States with being an enemy of the nation, a Communist leading the nation into Communism. If such should ultimately be found to be true, I want to emphasize the fact that only the Invisible One could have made the fact known to fallible man, and the Church should profit therefrom, because if that was the source of their knowledge, it was not clear at all to me. It should be known to future generations (as it is now to all) that the Church leadership as never before has the counsel of distinguished and highly respected functionaries in both parties, real national leaders in politics on both sides, and leaders in banking, finance, industry, ecclesiastics, and business generally, and many well-informed farmers and intellectuals. It has ever been that wealthy and the more favored, established classes have been the chief supporters of reaction. All churches, as soon as they become strongly established and recognized, become conservative and opponents of change, and ever the inevitable progress of time. So it is that the Church leadership, which I admire and support generally *in its sphere out of politics*, bitterly and immovably opposes the advanced policies of President Roosevelt. But it is the great middle class that furnishes the leadership that actually moves and dominates a free people, and the masses control the great issues. Wealth and the highly intellectual may lead at times, but the masses ultimately determine the course of the nation.<sup>39</sup>

#### Greatness and Error in Men

I would not have my posterity think that I am the worshipper of a man. I have often said that he who pins his faith to any man's coattails will lose his salvation. I have read that truth in the mistakes I have noted in the life of the greatest of all of God's prophets, Joseph Smith. I have personally seen much of the same in the lives of Joseph Smith's greatest successor, Brigham Young, and each of his successors, all of whom are human beings with all the weaknesses of human beings and with all the exhibitions of those human failings as you can find in the greatest of the ancient prophets and leaders of God's work on earth, such as in David and

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<sup>39</sup> Memorandum dated Nov. 1944, Box 11, fd 3.

Solomon, and in the meridian of time in Peter, the rock upon which the great Catholic Church builds its faith, who denied in the hour of trial that he even knew his Lord and Savior. I speak of the apparently greatest Christian Church on earth, which has done so much good, and has attained real greatness in the earth, and yet one can easily find the greatest of all human weakness in some of its popes, and one marvels at the possibilities of their atrocious accomplishment in the name of the Divine Son. One may note the same when coming down to the Reformation and its marvelous achievements under the leadership of such men as Luther and Calvin. The latter, as I remember, stood by in Geneva like St. Paul and rejoiced in the burning to death of a martyr to the cause of truth. I marvel at the burning of Savonarola on the public plaza of Florence, Italy.<sup>40</sup> That name comes to me forcibly and somewhat proudly because of the declaration of Frank B. Stevens in the Salt Lake Theater before a large political gathering that I was a modern Savonarola. I immodestly refer to that not because I think I merit that applause, for I know I do not at all, but because it has been my life's ambition to be at least in a small way what he was in a great way to those whom he loved and for whose welfare he was willing to suffer even a most horrid and torturous death. I pledged my life when at school to stay with my people in their fight under ecclesiastical leadership as long as that was by that leadership deemed wise, but when that same leadership ended the fight and division on national political lines followed, as I was sure it would, then I would have to be a free lance. I therefore declared in the meeting that dissolved our Peoples Party my allegiance to the Democratic Party to which I had been patriotically devoted from my earliest remembrance of things political. When about sixteen I had attended my first political primary. When in school in Michigan I attended my first State Democratic Convention at Detroit and my first National Democratic Convention in Chicago (which nominated Cleveland) in 1884, which was eight years before we had a Democratic Party in Utah, except for the "sage-

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<sup>40</sup> Memorandum dated Nov. 1944, Box 11, fd 3. Girolamo Savonarola (1452-98) was a Dominican priest and ascetic who was hung from a cross and burned in Florence for "heresy." In actuality, he had gained the disfavor of the Catholic hierarchy with his rigorous denunciations of corruption and malfeasance in high places.

brushes" in 1886 who only figured to speak of Democratic principles rather than as members or for the accomplishment of Democratic victory. I was with them in principle, though in the election of 1886 I was running for county attorney on the Peoples Party Ticket to which I was also devoted in its fight against the anti-Mormon Liberal Party.<sup>41</sup>

### **The Pattern of Church Leadership**

I am further impressed with the thought that President Grant may be, if he lives much longer, the last of the old-time, pioneer testimony-bearing presidents of the Church. It is that which makes him outstanding more than anything else in my mind. Neither of his counselors follow his example in testifying with emphasis and directness that God lives and that Jesus is the Christ and that Joseph Smith is the great prophet of this dispensation. It is true, however, that they say the same thing in less direct terms. In other words, they soften it, make it more indirect and inferential. It is also true, nevertheless, that George Albert Smith, who is next in line but in very delicate health, is largely of the old type, and that George F. Richards, following him, is the same, both in health, age, and expression. Their age and health gives little evidence of a prolonged and impressive administration. The next in line is a man whom most members think will distinguish himself as the president, David O. McKay. But he, too, is not in the best of health, and is not so much younger, being in his seventies. But he is so highly spiritual, intellectual, educated, naturally refined and appealing as a religious leader that many think that he, in the Providence of the Lord, will be the man who will make the next record of importance in the natural course of human events. Such is my own view, because Joseph Fielding Smith precedes the two intellectuals and educated thinkers, Stephen L. Richards and Joseph F. Merrill. Also, he is in good health while the two are not in the best of health. It is therefore apparent that there is no prospect of another thirty-year administration of one man. Men are selected now when

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<sup>41</sup> Memorandum dated Nov. 1944, Box 11, fd 3. Jonas, "The Different State," p. 328, places the founding of Sagebrush Democracy at 1888. See additionally Charles C. Richards, *The Organization and Growth of the Democratic Party in Utah, 1847-1896* (Salt Lake City: Sagebrush Democratic Club, 1942).

they have demonstrated over the years their fitness for the office of an apostle and not so much because of their parentage, as was the case with both Heber J. Grant and Joseph Fielding Smith.

I must not fail to say what I had in mind saying earlier, that George A. Smith is a most lovable, spiritual-minded man of broad travel and experience that adds to his fitness for the place, and the Lord could easily prolong his life and enable him to make an outstanding record. I would think it would be spiritual rather than political and material, and though he is Republican, I think he is a great man. He was never naturally fitted for great leadership, but his fine sense of right, his natural spirituality and deep sympathy, fine ideals and faith would make him more susceptible to spiritual promptings than a man of greater education and dominating intellectuality. I believe he would make, as long as his health would permit activity, as splendid a president as there ever was, because inspiration would be the dominating factor.

I also believe that the Church needs age and experience, with great faith, and strong human sympathies and spirituality. The practical has had its right-of-way for a long time, but with all the tendencies of President Grant for business and money matters, and his natural tastes in that direction and his admiration for men successful in business, there has always been a substantial degree of generosity in his private and public career. Note, for example, his large gifts of books. Also, his contribution, though small, to the University of Utah was a pioneer one in that direction, and not inconsistent with his property holdings or income. It was characteristic of him.<sup>42</sup>

I am convinced that President Clark is the real cause of the political errors of the First Presidency. I would like to see a comparative study of both Anthony W. Ivins and J. Reuben Clark, showing how each influenced the President of the Church and his policies. I believe that out of that study would come a most interesting and instructive chapter, and that good would come from it as it might exhibit some of President Clark's shortcomings on the political side, which I definitely oppose. Nevertheless, I

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<sup>42</sup> Memorandum dated Nov. 1944, Box 11, fd 3. Grant habitually gave away books with which he was impressed, sometimes sending out hundreds of copies of a single book. Over the years Moyle had been a recipient of many of these.

hope I live long enough to see my error if it be such, and that I am able to make ample apology, and to take advantage of the opportunity to understand how the Lord works through such men. If it is true, as my son Henry asserts, that President Clark is no more partisan than President McKay, which I cannot now think, then the fact of my error is made clear. And what it all means, and what the result from it all will be, I cannot say.<sup>43</sup>

Their minor mistakes (as I see them) will probably be soon forgotten, just as I witnessed with the criticisms of Brigham Young, which loomed large and were numerous in the last days of President Young, but were soon forgotten and are now never mentioned. I do not know but that there was some fire where there was so much smoke; indeed, I cannot help but think there was considerable fire, because he did make many mistakes, as every big as well as little man does.

#### **Divine Guidance in Church Affairs**

There is nothing I commend more than efforts of the Brethren to keep the Saints free from debt and dependence, and to preserve their individual independence, initiative, thrift, self-respect, useful endeavor, and determination to be self-supporting, productive members of society, and to avoid cultivating a willingness to have others provide for them when they are able to provide for themselves. I appreciate the cultivation of frugality, industry, honest labor, and thrift especially. Without those virtues the community and the nation will degenerate and fail. Idleness is truly the devil's workshop. At sixty-five I was in my prime. For me to have given up life's work would have been next to criminal. I was then well-fitted for the best work of my life. At seventy I was president of a mission of 165 missionaries in the busiest center of population in America, including the states of New York, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Connecticut, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Maryland, Delaware, and the District of Columbia. At seventy-five I was invited to take charge of the collection of revenue from the tariff, and ran the

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<sup>43</sup> Memorandum dated Nov. 1944, Box 11, fd 3. In this passage (in context) Moyle was asking Evans to write such a comparative study. There is no evidence, however, that it was ever done, although there are countless references in Moyle's memoranda to the change that took place in the political attitude of President Grant after the death of Ivins.

Bureau of Customs with more than 10,000 employees scattered over the main centers of the world. I think I can say my record in it was excellent. At eighty-one I became Assistant to the Secretary of the Treasury. Finally, at eighty-three I was made president of a high priests' quorum.

From all the foregoing I cannot resist the conclusion that surely there is divine guidance in the affairs of the Church and it is that alone upon which it stands. He who knows the future as well as the past and present has devised a good method of selecting presidents, and thus far it has been eminently successful. The big things were accomplished by men of mature years. Brigham Young, after Joseph Smith, had the greatest problems. John Taylor fit equally into the period of his administration. Wilford Woodruff, the apparently least fitted of all for outstanding leadership in practical affairs, had some of the most vital practical problems to meet, such as the continuance of the practice of polygamy and the economic problem of labor and employment, and he met both in a masterly way, though throughout his life spirituality was his dominating and most outstanding characteristic. In the field of politics and diplomacy in a small way, which I illustrate in my own experience with him in politics over the Gibbs letter,<sup>44</sup> I believe he did better than George Q. Cannon, his first counselor, would have done. And George Q. Cannon was a natural diplomat and experienced in political affairs, whereas President Woodruff was not. Lorenzo Snow, though not a great success in business, had shown resourcefulness in his leadership in initiating business undertakings in the Box Elder area over which he presided. He then showed great leadership in getting the Church, when seriously embarrassed, out of debt. Joseph F. Smith's long administration (though I criticize heartily his politics) was a marked period of advancement in matters both material and spiritual. I doubt that there was any other man in the Church who would have done better under the circumstances. Heber J. Grant's administration is too close to

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<sup>44</sup> Memorandum dated Nov. 1944, Box 11, fd 3. The Gibbs letter (or Gibbs-Logan letter) affair involved a message from George F. Gibbs, secretary to the First Presidency, on official stationery to Cache Valley Mormon leaders during the Woodruff administration suggesting that the Saints should vote for the Republican ticket to be in line with "their file leaders," meaning the general authorities. See Evans manuscript, Box 18, fd 2.

survey wisely and well, but during the Smith administration, Heber took a back seat in business matters except when it was necessary to raise money for some urgent reason. Then he was foremost, and ever ready, and on hand and successful, as he very naturally and worthily loves to tell. The fact remains that while he was not a great intellectual preacher or writer, or doctrinal expounder, or intellectual student of the religion, and often said he never had received as president a revelation from the Lord to present to the people, he nevertheless is now, in his 88th year, at the largest and most important affairs in industry and finance in our great nation. His administration will undoubtedly go into history as one of great accomplishment. It will show, as does that of each of his predecessors, that there was a great work to be done in his time, and that he did it well.<sup>45</sup>

#### **My Motive: Let Truth Prevail**

I want to present the whole story of my relationship with the Church as favorably as it can be done to the Church officials, to give them every benefit of the doubt. But I will present the facts truthfully and fully just as they are. This may not be published in my lifetime, but its presentation should be such as to do no injustice to any good man and the great cause of righteousness. The weakness of men should be exposed so as to make others more guarded, to diminish injustice and future errors. I hope to present it in the most friendly, fair way, so that no criticism of my motives can be made. Let truth prevail, error be avoided, and injustice never confront my record. Leave the way clear for my mistakes also to be corrected and exposed. Let the truth triumph in justification of what I am trying to expose as error.

With that preface I will feel freer to say some things that have perennially disturbed my mind, but thank God never soured it, and with His help nothing ever will. There is too much good in all good men ever to condemn them wholly. It is that good which in the end counts and turns the balance in their favor. It is also my experience that men who do good things are more numerous than we generally realize. With all their mistakes, in the final recounting, the good outweighs the bad so much that the bad will finally

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<sup>45</sup> Memorandum dated Nov. 1944, Box 11, fd 3.

be out of sight and the good ever be in the light. Whenever I have tried to write about what I think is bad, the good has forced itself so strongly on my mind that I am left to wonder whether what I have in mind is worth the effort. For example, because of my deep interest in the career of J. Reuben Clark, Jr., in the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints and its influence on the affairs of the Church, I am made to realize that we are each opposed partisans in politics and that may make me at least unfitted for an impartial relation even of the facts. But I must try.<sup>46</sup>

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<sup>46</sup> Memorandum dated Nov. 1944, Box 11, fd 4. See additionally for this introductory chapter the following: memorandum dated Sept. 1945, Box 13, fd 1; memorandum dated July 1945, Box 12, fd 3.

## *Chapter 2*

# YOUNG MORMON

My father James Moyle was a young, lone man, only two years in the territory from England when he married Elizabeth Wood in 1856. Just twenty-two years old, he was a stone-cutter employed chiefly on what was called "Public Works," or the building of the Salt Lake Temple. President Heber C. Kimball knew him and advised that he locate on the rich, fertile land at Fifth West near First South. There I was born on September 17, 1858.

### **Real West Enders**

Little irrigating was needed on our land because the water stood near the surface, and good drinking water could be had by digging for an hour in easy soil and soft clay. All else needed was to get some stones and build around the soil and clay to a depth of about six feet to get an ample supply of water. In contrast, where President Kimball lived, and in fact most places, it was necessary to go down in solid picking gravel about forty or fifty feet and forever after draw water that distance, to say nothing of building and keeping the well clean. But a pump was not necessary on Fifth West. A rope and bucket were all that was needed. There were only two homes in our ward on Seventh West and I was baptized where the street is now on Second South between Sixth and Seventh West in water about four feet deep. We were real west enders.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Memorandum dated Feb. 1944, Box 10, fd 4, James Henry Moyle Collection,

Father was a builder, and with his partners he erected several cut-stone business houses on Main Street. But Father's largest contracts were on and during the construction of the Union Pacific Railroad in the erection of stone piers and abutments for bridges and in the large, stone roundhouse at Evanston, Wyoming. It stood and was used until not many years ago. Father and his partner did most of the stone work on the western division of the Union Pacific. His contracts were subcontracts under those of Brigham Young and Bishop John Sharp, who later was a director of the railroad.

The construction engineer of the Union Pacific evinced his high opinion of Father by always coming to him when he was in trouble. If he could not get Father's services, he would ask him to recommend a reliable and competent man. He would ask him also to send reliable, good mechanics. He said to Father that he could rely on Mormon workmen as he could not on the men who were transients in the country.<sup>2</sup>

Father's first partner was John Parry. When Parry later went on a mission to Wales, Father and Peter Gillespie became partners when there was a job big enough for the two. At the other times both worked on the Temple Block which was always open for stonecutters. The pay was mostly tithing scrip which was sold for much less than cash due to the scarcity and frequent poor quality of tithing goods. The flour, molasses, potatoes, and such, however, were generally good. The bran and shorts were fine for the milk cow and pigs, which every man of a family generally had if he was at all thrifty. If not thrifty enough for that, he was indeed unfortunate.

My father and John Parry built in 1869 the old Walker Brothers Building on South Main. While erecting that building, Father had to go to Alpine to help my grandfather, John Rowe Moyle. He had injured his leg and the favorably known physician of Provo, Dr. Pike, had done his best to save the leg but gangrene had set in.

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Library-Archives, Historical Department, Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City, hereinafter cited as CLA. All references hereinafter to box and folder (fd) are for items from this collection.

<sup>2</sup> Undated memorandum, Box 8, fd 4. See Robert G. Athearn, "Contracting for the Union Pacific," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 37 (Winter 1969): 16-40.

Consequently, Father took Mother, me, and Dr. Ormsby, the leading surgeon in Utah, to Alpine to amputate Grandfather's leg below the knee. We made a new record for time on that trip in the wagon pulled by father's fine pair of mules. I remember that Joseph A. Young, son of Brigham and father of General Dick (Richard W. Young), tried unsuccessfully to pass the team with his fine horses on the road to his farm west of the Jordan River at about Ninth or Tenth South. He was always sporty with horses and had his own race track at or near the farm. This was the place where at another time I saw Porter Rockwell make a horseman put down his two pistols.<sup>3</sup>

### **The Moyles of Alpine**

My grandfather's home in Alpine was a unique experience in itself. He had built a tower as a fort against the Indians. The tower could be entered only through an opening on the level of the ground and by crawling down about two feet and going through an opening in the foundation just large enough for a man to pass and then up two feet to the floor of the tower. A man with a club could easily close the opening. The rooms of the tower were about seven or eight feet high. The roof was never completed, except that it was covered temporarily with brush. I slept in it often with Uncle Joe who was less than a year older than I.<sup>4</sup>

The home was about thirty or forty feet east. The farm road ran between the tower and home. Had the Indians given serious trouble, Grandfather contemplated constructing a tunnel connecting the two. The home consisted of two good-sized rooms, the walls of which were two feet thick of solid granite boulders from the surroundings. Granite prevailed in Cornwall, where he came from, and Grandfather was at home with the granite which abounded

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<sup>3</sup> Memorandum dated Sept., Nov.-Dec. 1943, Box 10, fd 3.

<sup>4</sup> Memorandum dated Aug., Oct. 1941, Box 9, fd 6. The "tower fort" in Alpine has been the subject of much publicity over the years. It is still standing in 1997, but despite efforts to restore it, it continues to deteriorate. See an example of James H. Moyle's attempts to restore or at least to preserve the structure in Gene A. Sessions, ed., "A View of James Henry Moyle: His Diaries and Letters," unpublished manuscript, 1974, CLA, pp. 95-97. Joseph E. Moyle was the youngest son of John Rowe Moyle. See his autobiography in Sessions, "Biographies and Reminiscences," sec. 9. See additionally the sections on John Rowe Moyle, Phillippa Beer Moyle, Stephen Moyle, Henry Moyle, and John Moyle in *ibid.*, secs. 2-3, 6-8.

on and around the farm. The house was typical of many of the homes now to be seen in Cornwall. Some of the old walls are now in the modern home built some years since from parts of the old rooms by his son Joseph.

The fences around the home, orchard, and garden were all built of granite with the earth only as mortar, but they were so massive and well-constructed that they would be still standing but for the idea that struck Uncle Joe and his family of having things modern. Hence, the unique surroundings so much like that in Cornwall and other parts of England have vanished forever, except for the crumbling remains of the old tower. I pleaded with Joe for years to have it rebuilt, but he did not, because his wife (troubled with nervousness) thought it would attract strangers and thereby disturb her peace and quiet. All the children are in favor of doing so, but cannot persuade the mother.

Grandfather Moyle was one of the least in pioneer pursuits; I never heard of his using a gun or going hunting, though that was one of the material aids in those days in providing meat for families. He did little farming himself. His boys did that and also the hunting, and did so easily as that was nearest the choice hunting grounds for bear, deer, sage and pine hens, and so on. Joe, the youngest, distinguished himself as the bear hunter of the family and killed quite a number. I think he frequently hunted alone and as I remember killed bears when alone. He was an exceptionally good shot and loved the sport. I went deer hunting with him, but bagged nothing much. I remember, however, how we shot across the little valley of Hamengog high up in the northeast mountains. We tracked the deer for miles on the steep mountainside frequently on snow, and once I lost my bearings and coasted down on the snow so fast that I could not get myself in a position to stop. I feared I might rush onto the rocks at the bottom of the snow, but I finally got my feet in position where they were lodged in the snow and stopped. We proceeded on our way, but neither got another shot.

Like Joe, I loved to hunt. I had a fine muzzle-loading, double-barrel shotgun. That muzzle-loading gun was the only one in use when I commenced to shoot. I first had a flint lock. It cost little, but I killed meadow larks with it a few times. I would regard that now as a vandal's act. I love so much to see and especially to hear

them, but then I did what others did and thought it real sport. I was about fifteen when Father got me that double-barrel shotgun.

I was a big fellow for my age and loved a horse and a dog. I made my first investment in a dog when I was fifteen or sixteen. I paid ten dollars for a pure-bred Scotch retriever pup. He became a beautiful dog. When Father heard of the investment, he said, "A fool and his money parted." No person of my acquaintance had paid that much for a dog. Common dogs were plentiful and pups were always given away, but I was stuck on having the best and most beautiful hunting dog. He was a choice dog naturally, but I spoiled him by whipping him for disobedience when the poor dog was not adequately informed what it was for except that he had attacked tame ducks and failed to realize the importance of the objection. I knew nothing of training a dog. I frequently went hunting with my horse and dog west of the Jordan River either for rabbits in the sagebrush or for ducks southwest of the city.

When seventeen, I was five or six miles west of the city hunting with a group of boys who (except myself) seldom hunted, and most of them had to borrow guns. I had pasteboard wads for my gun and thought I heard the shot rattle in the barrel. Believing that the wadding had not been properly rammed down, I thought I would save the shot, so I raised my gun to let it run into my hand, but a limb or something caught the trigger and the powder exploded and carried away everything on my left first finger between its first joints but the inside skin. I stood in wonderment, and raising my hand was surprised to see the other two joints of the finger drop down on the back of my hand. Without experiencing any pain, I shook my hand and the finger dangled in the air. When I realized what had happened, it pained me severely and bled freely. We bandaged it up as best we could, and the doctors in town cut it off at the hand, or unjointed it there.<sup>5</sup>

#### **Reminiscences of a Stonecutter**

When Father built the two-story, rough-cut stone prison immediately behind the old city hall on East First South, the mayor of the city was Daniel H. Wells, second counselor to Brigham Young. He was one of the finest and best men of the Church and

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<sup>5</sup> Memorandum dated Aug., Oct. 1941, Box 9, fd 6.

the Rocky Mountains. None will question that. At that time I was old enough to carry to Father a warm dinner and was with the men as they ate, and I probably ate a part of Father's. As the men ate their dinners, I remember seeing the mayor come out of the back door of City Hall, go down a few steps, and enter on the west side of the basement. He would remain there a short time and then return. I saw that repeated, for I remained often for hours. The men indicated its significance by saying with a smile and wink of the eye that it was the second or third time as the case might be. I learned the full meaning when I heard them say that the city's liquor supply was kept there and that Squire Wells, as he was familiarly called, was fond of liquor. His complexion was of the rosy type and that, as a matter of fact, was distinctly visible on his well-developed nose, the size of which some were pleased to exaggerate. Nevertheless, I never heard of anyone saying he was intemperate. Whether or not he did get one or more tastes of liquor in the basement is, of course, a matter of conjecture, but I gained that understanding and concluded that the squire did quietly indulge and did not feel that he was seriously violating the Word of Wisdom.

I know my father, who would have given his life and all he had for his religion, did not think a drink of toddy or even straight whiskey was as serious as it is considered now. He did, however, struggle valiantly and more or less consistently, as many of the best churchmen did, to overcome the evil of drinking intoxicants. It was not approved, but many had a naturally strong desire for it as well as for tobacco. Father fought against both with a will and determination of a gladiator, but was too often victim rather than victor. His struggle and the struggle of his father (who was in the same boat) taught me all I learned concerning the liquor and tobacco habit. I resolved against it and strengthened my desire for my children to avoid both.

I have two other memories of being there at the jail so frequently which have lingered on my mind. It was when I was not at school—summertime—and I must have been quite young. The building was up some height, and two stories were not very common in those days. They had a device that hoisted the layer of stone to its resting place. The tall mast was held erect by guy ropes fastened some distance away and tied with a bow knot. The men

were working and Father was way up on the building. I must have been very young for I pulled on the rope and it yielded. The knot was loosed and the great mast fell and almost struck Father fatally. I will never forget that, for I was terribly frightened. Father was not paralyzed but it was serious. Father acted magnanimously. He could see, I presume, that I was suffering sufficiently.<sup>6</sup>

The second memory is small, but to me most interesting. I remember there being considerable talk over the fact that an ingenious feature of the structure was that the stones used in building the jail had a round cannon ball with a diameter of about an inch or an inch and a half in the joints of the center of each stone, which was put there so that if there was an attempt made to saw through the stone the saw would strike the iron ball, which would revolve and make impossible sawing the stone. Just why that should have attracted the attention it did, I do not know, but because of its notoriety I preserved one of those cannon balls that was taken from the jail and recently found it among my effects. That substantial stone structure is still standing.<sup>7</sup>

### **Working on the Temple Block**

When I was quite a large boy, Father had built a good reputation as a building contractor. So Brigham Young called him on a mission (at first) to superintend the stonecutting for the Temple. Later, Brigham appointed him superintendent of the entire work of construction. Henry Grow was in charge of carpenter work which was not extensive.<sup>8</sup> This was sometime between the summer of 1872 when I started to cut stone on the Temple Block and 1877 when Brigham Young died, and he officially called Father on a mission to work on the Temple and Father gave up his contracting business for that mission.<sup>9</sup>

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<sup>6</sup> Memorandum dated Sept., Nov.-Dec. 1943, Box 10, fd 3.

<sup>7</sup> Undated memorandum, Box 8, fd 2. See also memorandum dated Sept., Nov.-Dec. 1943, Box 10, fd 3.

<sup>8</sup> Undated memorandum, Box 8, fd 3. See Wallace Alan Raynor, "History of the Construction of the Salt Lake Temple," M.S. thesis, Brigham Young University, 1961; Don B. Colvin, "Quarrying Stone for the Salt Lake Temple," M.A. thesis, Brigham Young University, 1959.

<sup>9</sup> Memorandum dated Oct. 1937, Box 9, fd 3. James Moyle indicated in his autobiography that he first worked on the temple in 1871, worked elsewhere for a time, and then became superintendent of the stonecutting for the temple two or three

Father also superintended the construction of the Assembly Hall on Temple Square.<sup>10</sup> I well remember Grandfather Moyle taking me there and attending with him the School of the Prophets. At the first meeting I remember very well Daniel H. Wells was the speaker. I enjoyed his address because it was short and because of his peculiar facial expressions. He had a peculiar movement of the eye and the mouth when he spoke. The other speaker was either Orson Pratt or Orson Hyde. He spoke much longer; therefore, I did not enjoy it so much. I was just a little fellow.<sup>11</sup> I think I was not more than ten. It was held in the original Assembly Hall, located on the southwest corner of Temple Square and very near the sidewalk. You had to go down several steps to get into it. I thought the massive chandeliers in it were marvelous, made chiefly of a great mass of small glass prisms. They were somewhat similar to the ones in the White House in Washington.

I first remember the Tabernacle when the carpenters were making the pipes for the great organ. They worked in front of the organ before the pulpits were erected. I remember one large pipe that a man could crawl through. I then attended the funeral of Heber C. Kimball there in June of 1868 before I was ten years old. The speakers were on a platform (in front of where the stand is now) with a cloth on it to improve the sound. Before the Tabernacle was completed, there was an open air place of assembly called the Bowery, which was nothing but posts and brush over it, with crude seats. As I remember it, it was located south of the east end of the Tabernacle.

In the old days, everybody attended church in the afternoon, and did so in the Tabernacle.<sup>12</sup> In those days and until recently, the two o'clock Tabernacle meeting on Sunday was the biggest event of the week for Latter-day Saints. The Sacrament of the Lord's Supper was always served. As a young man, when it was our ward's turn, I remember officiating in distributing or serving the sacrament to the members present. The meetings were always two hours or more long, as was the case in the ward meetings. If the

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years later. See Sessions, "Biographies and Reminiscences," pp. 55-56.

<sup>10</sup> Memorandum dated Oct. 1937, Box 9, fd 3.

<sup>11</sup> Undated memorandum, Box 8, fd 2.

<sup>12</sup> Memorandum dated Oct. 1937, Box 9, fd 3.

speakers did not occupy all the time, the president of the stake (who usually presided) saw to it that the time was not lost by occupying it himself. The speakers were called to the stand from the audience and delivered impromptu addresses as the Spirit directed, with no previous notice. The same rule was followed in all the local or ward meetings which were held at night. Strange to say, the meetings were well-attended, much better than now in both ward and Tabernacle. In the Tabernacle, as a rule, the speakers were fine, really worthwhile, and they dealt often with the prophecies, especially of the Bible, foretelling the future of the world, present conditions, and the early ending of this world with the millennial reign of the Savior. I would not have missed as a boy in my late teens the discourses of Orson Pratt for anything. I remember his sermons as being magnificent, and believe many of them will someday be honored and glorified. I often think I will read them and want to, but do not seem to find time. When it was advertised that Orson Pratt would preach in any ward, however far away, I attended no matter how far I had to walk. I lived at First South and Fifth West, so to go to the First Ward required a walk of more than three miles. To go to the Twenty-first Ward on the extreme northeast corner of the city would take a two-mile walk. But we thought nothing of walking; it was the only thing to do, especially to hear Orson Pratt.<sup>13</sup>

In 1872 when I first worked on the Temple Block, the Temple was about level with Main Street on the east end, but the west end was much above the ground. The foundation and basement went down to quite a depth, I often played with boys in the basement. The stone in the basement was of a different color from the granite in the superstructure and did not come from the same locality.

Henry Eccles of our Fifteenth Ward was the foreman of stonecutters prior to Father's call. Moroni Thomas's father was foreman between Eccles and Father for a year and possibly more. Truman Angell, an uncle of Richard W. Young, was architect and Richard himself was clerk in the office of the architect. The old stonecutters on the Block whom I remember best were Peter Gillespie, who at one time was Father's partner in building opera-

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<sup>13</sup> Memorandum dated May 1943, Box 10, fd 1. See T. Edgar Lyon, "Orson Pratt, Pioneer and Proselyter," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 24 (1956): 261-73.

tions; Eugene Fullmer, son of a Nauvoo Saint; William Stockdale, grandfather of our Senator Elbert D. Thomas; Joseph Dover, William Player, and William Barnes, of Nauvoo. Barnes worked on the Nauvoo Temple and told us many interesting things about it and the people there. Two others were Samuel Priday and Thomas Howells.<sup>14</sup>

Father and his stonecutters spent their long lunch periods discussing all kinds of topics from theology to war. It was a real pioneer, tin-bucket luncheon club. The debates were often extremely instructive and I enjoyed the heated debates. Most of the men knew their Bible and Church works of which there were then very few. It is surprising how much they knew of history and science. They had been converted in a most vital way and regarded their religion as they did life itself. Their philosophy of life would be appreciated even by men of real thought and broad knowledge. Most of them would have made their mark in the world under more favorable circumstances for they loved knowledge and the truth above all. They were typical of the splendid men who constituted the backbone and foundation stone of Mormon social life. They were as immovable in their faith and their own moral and religious foundations as the very granite itself.<sup>15</sup>

There were many other stonecutters working on Temple Block, but they worked in other sheds and projects. There were long sheds covered with brush all around. Big oxen, the finest and largest raised, pulled large two-wheel carts and carried the rough stones in and the cut stones out to where they were dropped in rows in the yard outside. The stones all had painted on them in black letters marks which indicated exactly where they were to be placed in the building. The cart had a strong pole or bar on top of its tongue which was attached to the axle. It had a strong hook on it by which the cart could be raised perpendicularly. The cart then straddled the stone which usually weighed many tons, after which a chain was put around the stone, the pole pulled down with a rope, and the stone was raised. It would take days, possibly a week,

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<sup>14</sup> Memorandum dated Oct. 1937, Box 9, fd 3.

<sup>15</sup> Undated memorandum, Box 8, fd 7. See Ephraim E. Ericksen, *The Psychological and Ethical Aspects of Mormon Group Life* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1922).

to dress some of the stones and a big price was paid for them—\$100 or more for some. I think the stone steps in the Temple with noses were worth about \$70 each. The nose was the delicate work and so stonecutters were paid much higher wages than carpenters. Many of the stones in the Temple required a very high degree of skill and care, especially the one stone on either side of the arch over the windows which came to an almost feather edge. You can see them from the ground in the large round windows. The granite was easily cracked, for it was not all one composition, but small pieces of quartz, feldspar, and mica which fell apart when jarred. The feather-edged part was cut last so that the jarring of the heavy work would not injure it. If a miss hit were made or a hit made too hard, it would destroy the job and a week's work might (as occasionally occurred) be lost. Men were paid by the job and not by the day.<sup>16</sup>

### Whiskey in Zion

The only business south of Second South was the city liquor store on the southwest corner of Main Street. It was a small, one-story, simple lumber structure, right on the corner. It would be considered a shack today. I have an imperfect recollection of the corner being called the White House. It was just large enough for the little liquor that they sold in the city. The significant fact was that it was the only place in which liquors could be legally sold.<sup>17</sup>

I remember working as a boy stonecutting on the Temple Block and going more than once to the city liquor store with the gallon tin can (in which Father and I carried our lunch and evening meal to work) to buy a quart of whiskey for the men with whom I worked, including Father. I do not think I was permitted otherwise to participate, even though at fourteen I was tall and husky. I also went over to the Tithing Office in the fall and got a gallon of Dixie tithing wine for the same group, some of whom were Nauvoo Temple builders and all devoted Latter-day Saints. It is my recollection that I was permitted to enjoy

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<sup>16</sup> Undated memorandum, Box 8, fd 7.

<sup>17</sup> Memorandum dated Sept., Nov.-Dec. 1943, Box 10, fd 3. See Philip Ray Rogers, "Liquor Control in the State of Utah," M.S. thesis, University of Utah, 1940.

some of the wine. I liked it; the rest loved it. Some of the old chappies much preferred the scotch, but in those days no scotch came to Utah for ordinary folks so far as I remember. It was real hard Valley Tan liquor that they drank, and not the most expensive kind, but for those days good whiskey. As the railroad then operated I suppose there was some scotch to be had and the stonecutters doubtlessly got it, especially fine old Scotsmen like Peter Gillespie, Father's sometime partner.<sup>18</sup>

Speaking of liquor, one of the most famous bartenders in the valley was Harry Haines, my old and best district school teacher. He married the apostate Bishop Andrew Cahoon's daughter. Cahoon was bishop of Murray and a fine old man. He was a headstrong character, a surveyor by trade, and in many respects a useful citizen and father of a large polygamous family. Even Haines, while violently anti-Mormon, admitted to me that the Church possessed an unusual number of outstandingly strong leading characters like Bishop Cahoon who left their impress on their families and the communities in which they lived. Haines would not admit that we were Israelites, one of a city and two of a family who had gathered in Zion, but he saw clearly that it would be difficult to find another community of as wide extent, who possessed as many upstanding and outstandingly strong men with personalities and families such as that of Andrew Cahoon of Murray. He, of course, knew Cahoon and his families. Haines graduated from school teacher to the saloon keeper of Murray. His home is still standing now in the center of Murray on State Street. When he first went there it was just a village. The place was noted in the early days as a place where whiskey could be had more easily than anywhere else.<sup>19</sup>

"Whiskey" Morton, another apostate of some note in Salt Lake City, operated the municipal liquor store. William Margetts, the brother of Phil, the popular comedian of the Salt Lake Theater, operated what I believe was the only brewery in the city. It was located across the street north of the Sixteenth Ward Square, now the site of West High School. Phil later operated a saloon on First

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<sup>18</sup> Memorandum dated Sept., Nov.-Dec. 1943, Box 10, fd 3.

<sup>19</sup> Memorandum dated May 1943, Box 10, fd 1. See Clinton B. Ahlbert, "A History of Murray to 1905," M.S. thesis, Brigham Young University, 1959.

South east of West Temple and not far west of Dinwoodey Furniture Store. Phil's saloon was noted, in my mind at least, for the group of interesting, convivial, well-known Mormon patrons who met with Phil by instinct, common interest, mutual attraction, or otherwise in the upper room of his two-story beer parlor and there very frequently remained until it was too late for them to get home unaided. They even enjoyed good scotch. At least one of them was a Scot and even after he became an outstanding, frequent, and popular Tabernacle speaker, his language showed something of his origin or native land.<sup>20</sup>

In that little group who regularly patronized Phil Margett's saloon were three men from the office of President Young. (There were others, but I was never present or saw them enter.) The first of these was the treasurer of the Church, James Jack, or "Jim Jack," as he was always called. He imbibed so thoroughly that he never got over the habit, though he remained as treasurer until his death, notwithstanding the new order in the Church so thoroughly and completely in favor of temperance. The second was David McKenzie, who was a clerk in Brigham's office and later became a notable and splendid Tabernacle preacher. He was withal an excellent man whom I admired and enjoyed, but like my father never survived the love of good whiskey or beer. The third member of the trio from the Church Office was Horace Whitney, who like McKenzie, was until death a clerk in the President's office and earned his living as such. Whitney was the father of Horace Whitney, the theatrical play writer of the *Deseret News* and long-time secretary of the Utah-Idaho Sugar Company. He often said to me, "Jim, you stick to sheep and wool and I with sugar and we will get on all right." His older brother, Orson F., became still more distinguished, and was best known as Bishop Whitney, apostle, poet, and historian.<sup>21</sup>

The group to which Father belonged more intimately were builders such as William Folsom, the most prominent architect of

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<sup>20</sup> Memorandum dated May 1943, Box 10, fd 1. Reference is to David McKenzie. See paragraph below.

<sup>21</sup> Memorandum dated May 1943, Box 10, fd 1. See also undated memorandum, Box 8, fd 2. Whitney's comment referred to Moyle's involvement in the Deseret Livestock Company.

the time and father of Amelia, a favorite wife of Brigham Young. Another was a blacksmith who was very popular with the builders and especially Father and Folsom. Another intimate with the first three and in the same class as to weakness for liquor, was Bishop John Sharp of the Twentieth Ward, a partner of Brigham Young in large contracts for the building of the original Union Pacific Railroad and a director of the company until his death. They were all sterling stalwarts so far as manhood, virtue, integrity, and devotion to Deity were concerned, and everyone of them left fine families of which they were proud and the children proud of their fathers. The weakness for a "wee bit" (as the Scotsmen called it) was their besetting sin which they all deplored and fought against, but that they were all choice men there is no question. And that they were a real part of the factors that have made for Mormon stability in all other particulars there is no question. It was simply Father's one weakness against which he waged a never-ending battle, although he overcame entirely his love of tobacco.<sup>22</sup>

I failed to say in connection with Phil Margetts, the leading Salt Lake Theater comedian and beer dispenser, and "Whiskey" Morton, that they left fine families, some of which I knew not only well, but most favorably. Their business, however, did not promote their advancement in the Church, which was the most of all important factors in the community.

The city liquor business, however, was not only legitimate, but was regarded as somewhat of a necessity. Liquor, in those days, was a needed stimulant and pretty much everybody, so far as I know, considered it good for colds and snake bites, and a good poison antidote. There were other "sins" which were considered to be much more grievous than drinking. For example, to sell buttermilk in those days was next to criminal. Neighbors often treated each other to buttermilk when they made butter and occasionally gave some to the unfortunate. I well remember a Brother Johnson, an otherwise excellent man and father of a very commendable family, who lowered his social standing by selling buttermilk to overlanders on their way to California. For that somewhat grave act he was dubbed Buttermilk Johnson.<sup>23</sup>

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<sup>22</sup> Memorandum dated May 1943, Box 10, fd 1.

<sup>23</sup> Memorandum dated Sept., Nov.-Dec. 1943, Box 10, fd 3.

### On the Trail of the Iron Horse

When I was fifteen, I worked the summer at the Temple. At sixteen I spent the summer cutting stone for a culvert at the big trestle (now a fill) about two or three miles west of Wahsatch Station (near the Wyoming border) on the Union Pacific Railroad. I worked with Jack Sheriff and John Hislop. Due to some trouble (I have forgotten what), we struck, and with an old man we quit and went down the canyon in a wagon. We slept in the wagon box at Morgan with the old man. He was drunk, and we had quite a time.

That next winter, and I think the next, I attended school in the Fifteenth Ward under my splendid teacher, Gentile Harry Haines, later of Murray. He was my best teacher. He inspired me with a desire to learn and devoted his personal attention to me in school and out. It was my first real progress in school, and started me on the course I ever after pursued devotedly, and determinedly. I will say more about that later. During my seventeenth and eighteenth summers, Father was employed by Union Pacific to build stone piers and abutments on the Bitter Creek in Wyoming, and I worked under him at the quarry in Weber Canyon at Devil's Slide and later at the bridges on Bitter Creek about six or seven miles east of Green River. It was at this time that I first came in contact with oil shale. It was getting cold in the fall and we made a fire on the shale we had excavated in laying the foundation for the bridge abutments, and to our surprise the shale under the fire burned as soon as thoroughly dried. I have often wondered if this shale covered richer oil bearing structures. Here we lived in a box car with bunks, did our own washing, and had a real pioneer railroad experience.<sup>24</sup>

Very soon after the Union Pacific Railroad entered the Salt Lake Valley, its termination was at Uintah, about seven or eight miles southeast of Ogden. At the same time, the terminus of the old Central Pacific was at Corinne, which was also created by the advent of the railroad. The terminus of each road remained at those points until an agreement between them was reached as to where the junction or joint terminus should be. In the meantime,

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<sup>24</sup> Undated memorandum, Box 8, fd 2. Moyle would take great interest in later excitement about the possibilities of oil shale development.

Uintah and Corinne suddenly sprang into existence and became thriving and prosperous business centers.<sup>25</sup>

In 1869, I was about eleven years old. Uncle Henry Moyle, living in Alpine, needed a wagon, so he drove his team of horses to Salt Lake City. In those days many used slow-going oxen for like purposes. He picked me up and I accompanied him to Uintah to buy the wagon. We spent the day in making the trip to the bench south of Uintah and above Kaysville, or where Layton is now. It was not then in existence, as I remember. We camped there on the plateau south of the depression made by the Weber River. We had followed a well-travelled road, but the roads then were much as nature provided, for the land was disturbed only by wagon travel. The taxes spent on the roads consisted of a head tax on able-bodied males over a given age. It required them to do one or two days' work on the road per year or pay so much for someone else to do it. Thus we had wearily and slowly plodded on, with rocks in the road causing plenty of bumps and jolts. It was my farthest trip from home, though it was about the same distance to Alpine from Salt Lake City; I had frequently, maybe twice a year, made the trip to Alpine to see my grandparents and uncles.

When night came, we made our bed in the open wagon box, and I slept gloriously. In the morning, after the horses were fed and our breakfast was over, we were on our way and soon came in sight of the mouth of the Weber Canyon, and not long after as we approached the Weber River Valley I could see in the distance Uintah. There I saw the marvelous sight of the real "iron horse" of which I had heard so much and had come so far to see. It was a train just emerging from the canyon winding its way down. In constructing the road, haste and mileage had been the watchword, so they did not stop to remove hills when it could be avoided. The iron horse and train were too far away to be seen very distinctly in detail, but I marveled at it. We hastened across the narrow valley and reached Uintah soon after the train arrived. It was still stand-

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<sup>25</sup> Undated memorandum, Box 8, fd 4. See Brigham D. Madsen and Betty M. Madsen, "Corinne, the Fair: Gateway to Montana Mines," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 37 (Winter 1969): 102-23; Reeder, "Utah's Railroads," pp. 58-64; Richard C. Roberts and Richard W. Sadler, *Ogden: Junction City* (Northridge, CA: Windsor Publications, 1985), pp. 31-44.

ing with a volume of smoke coming from the stack, and occasionally steam gushing out. My eyes were absorbed with the engine, the bright trimmings, cow catcher, great wheels, smoke stack (which was like a real chimney such as every building had then), the tender loaded with coal. Its immense size fascinated me, but now it would be insignificantly small and incomparable with even the engines of twenty-five years ago, to say nothing of the present. I remember also the great rush of business and the throng of people near the railroad terminus in tents and shacks hastily erected to shelter goods and people.

It was January 1870 when the Utah Central was completed to Salt Lake City. I was present when the first train came puffing into the station at the southeast corner of South Temple and Third West, which was only three and a half blocks from my home. That was a great event in the history of Salt Lake City and the first sight many had of a railroad train.<sup>26</sup>

We boys were often present to see the trains arrive, and enjoyed especially the loud calls and competition of the hotel runners, as we called them, seeking guests and passengers for the hack drivers. They were always eager for the business of strangers, as ready cash for a ride was scarce. People then generally walked everywhere, excepting the few who had horses. There was not much demand then for carriages, although hotel buses soon came into use.

I think the only hotels in 1870 were the old Salt Lake House, a lumber structure as I remember about where the Tribune Building is now on Main Street, and the Townsend House, a large (for those days) two-story adobe on the northeast corner of West Temple and First South Streets. The Clift House, a two-story adobe or brick, may have been where the Clift Building is now at Main and Third South. Later came the three-story, brick Walker House facing east on Main Street about the center of the block between Second and Third South Streets. While the Townsend House was comfortable and popular, the Walker House became the leading hotel until the Cullen was built much later. The Cullen was the

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<sup>26</sup> Undated memorandum, Box 8, fd 4. See Gustive O. Larson, "Building the Utah Central," *Improvement Era* 28 (Jan. 1925): 217-27.

first high-rise building erected in the city and it marked a distinct advance in Salt Lake City growth.<sup>27</sup>

### **My Education in Early Utah**

When the history of pioneer Utah is written, as it will be sooner or later by an impartial, broad-minded historian, it will reveal some striking paradoxes, but the ultimate decision will be that there was therein, as there has been throughout the history of our American civilization, a divinity shaping its ends. There will be more great minds like that of Professor Thomas Nixon Carver of Harvard who will say that Pioneer Utah is one of the few choice fields for the study of empire building. It is a significant fact that the pioneers were located in the center of the intermountain west on what was designated on the maps of the time as the Great American Desert, and that Pioneer Utah is the most significant event so far in the history of that vast section of the United States.

Who can now tell what part the University of Deseret played in the great drama, and just why there was attracted to it a simple, obscure character like Dr. John R. Park, a physician who was promoted from school teacher in the obscure village in the southeast corner of Salt Lake County to the presidency of the first university west of the Mississippi River? Who can unfold to our view the magnitude of the splendid work he did and the ramifications of the beneficent influence he wielded over the lives of so many of the generation who came in contact with him? How far was he and the university he loved responsible for the accomplishments of the thousands who came within the realm of his and its sphere?<sup>28</sup>

What a revelation it was to me when I came to use the library in the south end of the old Deseret Hospital Building in 1877, almost seventy years ago, and was informed that most of those books were those of Dr. Park, who so quietly and modestly moved within that community. I had never seen anything to compare with it. It was my first sight of a real library. My father loved books, and

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<sup>27</sup> Undated memorandum, Box 8, fd 4.

<sup>28</sup> Undated memorandum, Box 9, fd 2. See Ralph V. Chamberlin, *The University of Utah: A History of Its First Hundred Years, 1850-1950* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1960), pp. 61-120, for a survey of the Park period.

had as many of them as any of our neighbors, but not exceeding fifty, if that many. And few had more in Utah outside that library Dr. Park gave to the university. I never heard of Dr. Park having other worldly possessions. How choice and rare a character he was. It is thus to my school teachers, the Deseret University, and Dr. Park that I attribute my opportunity for mental development and elevation from the humble walks of a west-side clodhopper to the wider fields of growth and progress.<sup>29</sup>

My primary education was in the Church district schools. Everything was taught in one room—at first by one teacher—in the district schools. Later, as the schools became larger, there was an assistant, generally a woman. At some times there was an additional room provided for the assistant.<sup>30</sup>

I very well remember that we were graded by the progress we made in our McGuffey First, Second, and Third Readers, Ray's Arithmetic, and Pinnios' Grammar. I was not a particularly apt student and I think I started in at about the same place each year for several years. Of course, there were only two or three classes. I remember having studied addition, subtraction, and division, and then being put in a high class; the same with the McGuffey Readers. The Pinnios' grammar system was obnoxious to me. When I went to the university, Dr. Park made grammar interesting with what was known as the Clark diagramming system, in which the structure of the sentence was boxed—the nominator or subject first, the predicate or moving force second, and the object or

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<sup>29</sup> Undated memorandum, Box 9, fd 2. On September 15, 1876, Deseret University moved from the Council House to the old "Academy Building" in the Seventeenth Ward. This was a long, two-story, adobe building that stood on the corner of First North and Second West across from the Sixteenth Ward (or Union) Square, now the site of West High School. See Chamberlin, *University of Utah*, p. 108. The building became the Deseret Hospital in 1884 after the university moved to a new building on Union Square. The hospital continued to function in the old structure until 1905. See *ibid.*, p. 126; Andrew Jenson, *Encyclopedic History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Co., 1941), pp. 184-85.

<sup>30</sup> Undated memorandum, Box 8, fd 2. See C. Merrill Hough, "Two School Systems in Conflict: 1867-1890," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 28 (1960): 13-28; Laverne C. Bane, "The Development of Education in Utah, 1870-1896," Ed.D. diss., Stanford University, 1940; M. Lynn Bennion, "The Origin, Growth and Extension of the Educational Program of the Mormon Church in Utah," Ph.D. diss., University of California, Berkeley, 1935.

failure to have an object third, with the prepositions and subordinate phrases boxed off underneath the three main divisions of the sentence. That was comparatively easy and interesting.<sup>31</sup>

Harry Haines's success as a teacher was due largely to the inspiration he instilled into his pupils by relating such illustrations as that of learning to articulate clearly in the face of natural impediments such as Demosthenes suffered. He persisted in trying to speak with pebbles in his mouth to overcome his natural impediment, and made a success thereby. In spite of Harry Haines giving up teaching for the more lucrative business of bartending in Murray, he made good at that and came to be known as the "Mayor of Murray," though he never held the office or any public office. I have always honored him for what he did for me, and Dr. John R. Park likewise, though I was not such a favorite with him. He had too many, I presume, more promising. But I was surprised later to discover that the more precocious made so little progress later.<sup>32</sup>

I think Father's chief purpose in having me go to the university was to break up my association with some of the ward boys who were not very desirable. After one year at the university I spent more time in district school, then a year at Morgan's College on First South between West Temple and Second West. That was especially notable for its commercial course, which I am sorry I did not take.<sup>33</sup>

In the fall of 1877 I became a university student again in the old adobe Deseret Hospital Building across from the Sixteenth Ward Square. The old two-story building had been used as a hospital, and after the university moved again, the building was used as a knitting factory. The entrance was at the center of the building on First West and on the south side of the entrance was a classroom and beyond that the library, which as I mentioned consisted chiefly of the books Dr. Park had accumulated and had given to the university. On the north side of the entrance were one or two more classrooms. The president had his office on the north side of the upstairs. On the south side of the upstairs was the main

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<sup>31</sup> Undated memorandum, Box 8, fd 2.

<sup>32</sup> Memorandum dated Sept. 1945, Box 13, fd 3.

<sup>33</sup> Memorandum dated Feb. 1935, Box 9, fd 3. See also undated memorandum, Box 9, fd 2.

classroom where pretty much all of the normal school courses were taught. The normal department was the principal part of the university. In the two years ending in the spring of 1879, when I was twenty years of age, I completed the normal course and what was known as the course in mathematics. This consisted of a one-year course in algebra, geometry, trigonometry, measurement, and survey. We spent three or four days in actual surveying under Professor Joseph B. Toronto. He taught all of those studies, as well as Greek and Latin. I spent part of a year studying Caesar's wars and spent one quarter on Greek. Both were extremely difficult studies for me, particularly the Greek, which did not appeal to me at all, so I soon gave it up. I was interested in Latin, however, because I understood it was very desirable for a lawyer. I also took the course then given in mineralogy under Dr. Joseph T. Kingsbury. I enjoyed it immensely and stood higher in it than probably anyone else.<sup>34</sup>

When fifteen, I had attended the Deseret University, then held in the Council House where the Deseret News Building now stands at the corner of Main and South Temple Streets. The building, a two-story structure, was set back about ten or fifteen feet from the street and the property was surrounded by a picket fence, with nothing but mother earth for a sidewalk, although there might possibly have been some gravel on it. The Main Street sidewalk was the popular place for our athletics, which consisted mostly of jumping, as I remember.<sup>35</sup>

I was not a regular university student. The institution then taught spelling, grammar, arithmetic, possibly geography, and what was then called rhetoric. Professor Park, the president of the institution, taught all or most of these classes. Professors Francis M. Bishop, Joseph L. Rawlins, Joseph B. Toronto, and Joseph F. Kingsbury were the only other teachers I now recall.<sup>36</sup>

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<sup>34</sup> Undated memorandum, Box 9, fd 2. See also memorandum dated Feb. 1935, Box 9, fd 3; n28 above. See additionally the diagram of the university facilities in the "Union Academy Building" in Chamberlin, *University of Utah*, p. 99.

<sup>35</sup> Memorandum dated Feb. 1935, Box 9, fd 3. Moyle later became famous with his aptitude for "jumping." In the 1930s he made news by outjumping his employees in the Bureau of Customs even though he was nearly eighty. For a survey of the University of Deseret in the Council House, see Chamberlin, *University of Utah*, pp. 16-126.

<sup>36</sup> Memorandum dated Feb. 1935, Box 9, fd 3. Rawlins resigned from the fac-

### A Diffident Young Man in Utah Society

The most severe affliction that hindered me throughout my education was bashfulness. My social timidity was so great that in the presence of girls I might as well have been paralyzed. When old enough to notice the girls and admire them in the district school, I would walk around the block rather than walk alone with a girl, especially one with whom I would like to make a hit. I had no confidence in myself around girls, and yet with the boys I was one of the loudest and roughest. I thoroughly enjoyed roughhousing with them. But, oh how meek and quiet and docile I was in the presence of girls. For example, no matter how hard I studied even in college, I never made extra good recitations, because I was so conscious of my weakness and timidity. I was ambitious, however, and I determined to make something of myself and to overcome my backwardness.<sup>37</sup>

No girl or woman ever refused to accept my invitation to accompany me anywhere, but I have to admit that they had very rare opportunities to do so. That was the one great misfortune of my youth; I fully realized it and was humiliated by it. I was so extremely shy that it required more courage than I had even to be around girls. I was afraid that I would be so dumb and make such a bad impression that it would make my bashfulness even worse. I contented myself with the belief that I would eventually overcome my great weakness and would achieve that which would give me social standing and confidence in myself.

One of the best homes socially in the territory was that of Captain William H. Hooper, delegate to Congress and successful businessman. He had four charming daughters, all dark brunettes. The captain was a real Southern gentleman who had drifted west after being a captain on a Mississippi riverboat. He joined the Church and married an attractive, fine, motherly Mormon girl. Though never a very active churchman, he was a highly respected citizen. There was an air of refinement about the entire household

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ulty in 1875 and was succeeded by Toronto. Park, Bishop, and Toronto composed the entire faculty until 1877 when Kingsbury took Bishop's place in the "Famous Faculty Triumvirate." See Chamberlin, *University of Utah*, pp. 107-108.

<sup>37</sup> Undated memorandum, Box 8, fd 2. Moyle often recalled his youthful "diffidence," an archaic term meaning timidity or shyness.

that greatly distinguished it. There were, however, few elaborate or expensive dinners given there.

I visited the Hooper home more than any other, not because I had fallen in love with either of the girls, but because they were all socially attractive and very generally admired. Mary, the eldest, had married the oldest son of William Jennings, and was a social leader with a very attractive home. The next daughter, Hattie, was nearest my age and very charming. Notwithstanding the social standing of the girls and family, they were naturally agreeable and unassuming and charming in their conduct toward all (irrespective of social standing or favor) whom they cared to entertain.

Nothing can illustrate better what I would like to describe in them all than my experience with Hattie. I met her soon after I emerged one day from the east gate of the Temple Block in my working clothes with more or less of the stonecutter's dust on me, and my face was probably grimy. I was just a little embarrassed, for I looked at my worst, but to my great relief she was just as friendly and as sociable as she could be and tried to make me feel comfortable with her at once. This was in striking contrast to another meeting not far from the same place with a young lady of much less prominence who hardly recognized me as she passed me with her head high.

Hattie was very popular with all and especially with that outstanding West Pointer, Willard Young, whom she later married. He was a real success in the Army and distinguished himself as the army engineer who had charge of building the locks at The Dalles on the Columbia River. Unfortunately, he left the Army to become active in Church work where he failed as a leader. He was so trained and fitted for the Army that his education seemed to hinder rather than to help him in civilian life. His wife was disgusted with the change to civilian life and their home was not a happy one. There was no open rupture, but their harmony and happiness was noticeably disturbed.

Libby, the next in age, was quite as popular and clever. I greatly admired both, but did not fall in love with either. While on my mission I corresponded with both and greatly valued the family, because it was so educationally and socially refining to associate with them. Neither Mother nor Father had any glimpse into such social relations. That was the case with all the Fifteenth Warders,

with the possible exceptions of the bishop, General Robert T. Burton's first family, and the family of John Clark, who all had very nice and well-furnished homes.

Elias Morris, later bishop of the Fifteenth Ward, was in my father's class, though he was more prominent later after Father's death. He also had two families and the struggle for necessities stood in the way of much luxury. The homes of the General Authorities of the Church were more or less the same, even when (as in Brigham Young's case) they were well off. Numerous families prevented each from having very much luxury, because each wife had to be kept on a common parity with no special favors to any one. That rule very generally prevailed. Hence the polygamous homes could not compare with the Jenningses or Hoopers. It was for that reason—so he would have a place fitted especially for large and dignified entertainments, as well as to please his last love—that Brigham Young built the Amelia Palace.<sup>38</sup>

Clarissa Young had appealed to me more than any other girl I met in school. Clint, as everyone called her, had everything I lacked—family distinction, a father almost worshipped by his people as a great leader, a home of luxury, and social distinction. That, however, did not count so much to me as the fact that she was the very embodiment of that characteristic (which I lacked so completely) of being at home anywhere with anyone, high or low. She was as natural and attractive to me as the flowers that grow, bloom, and flourish in the surrounding hills. She would accost and chat with Professor Joseph B. Toronto as if he were one of her most intimate chums, when all the other girls felt they could not reach him with a ten-foot pole. He too was very reserved and diffident then. This was before he became openly interested in anything but his work in teaching. He was almost as reserved as Professor Kingsbury before he received his doctorate and became a recognized leader in his vocation. But Clint always made me feel at home in a group of girls. When in a group of girls I thought she singled me out and went out of her way to make me feel comfortable.

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<sup>38</sup> Memorandum dated May 1944, Box 10, fd 6. Also known as the Gardo House, the Amelia Palace was named for Harriett Amelia Folsom Young, Brigham's "last love." Originally intended as an official residence for the president of the church, only John Taylor lived there and for a short time.

On St. Valentine's Day at school (we all sat in one room), she wrote a poetic valentine of four or five verses, and Frank J. Cannon delivered it to me in the schoolroom, which gave me the thrill of my life; I felt elevated beyond measure. Before leaving my desk, Frank said, "If you do not follow that up, you are a damned fool." Notwithstanding all that, I very rarely called on Clint, and never asked her to go anywhere with me for the same reason that I did not court the Hooper girls. For another thing, I knew intuitively that John Spencer was serious in his devotion to Clint. The relationship between the two was clear. John was clever and dramatic and entertaining, both in voice and action. He was a first-class singer and a coming dramatic actor of attractive appearance and distinguished family. If I interfered and got anywhere it would only have disrupted a lovely and manifestly congenial relationship. I also felt that if I had a chance, I would have to give up my very life's ambition, because I could only offer the surroundings of a stonemason or building contractor in a small sphere, for such it was then. She was too good for me to lower that much. So I merely kept up (until her recent death) a very cordial friendship I have always greatly valued. In fact, I have never valued a lady's acquaintance more, excepting that of my wife.

If I needed anything concerning Clint to confirm my conclusion that I could not marry until I was established in a law practice, it was her statement to a bunch of us at school that she had never done any cooking or kitchen work even down to setting a table.<sup>39</sup>

### **My Determination and Ambition**

I was extremely bashful, a real case. Yet I lacked nothing in ambition and determination to overcome it and outstrip my apparently more-favored associates who had no social impediments. All my life, I told myself that I would make the goal. Although my surroundings socially, financially, and even religiously were against me, I determined to be a lawyer because the field was open so far as Mormon lawyers were concerned. Even the sons of the religious elite did not enter that field. In all the other fields of intellectual ambition, I was handicapped, because I was in competition with the elites. For years I was too modest to

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<sup>39</sup> Undated memorandum, Box 8, fd 4.

disclose my ambition, except to my father and an intimate friend, and then only under a vow of secrecy. I did not know how it was to be accomplished. In a general way, it was my big ambition to achieve success in my chosen profession, first so that I might live comfortably and provide my family with the advantages I did not enjoy. In fact, I did not know what the law profession was all about, except that lawyers were well-paid and were potent factors in the world, and it was the best stepping stone to public life, honor, and power, especially for the poor man. But I did have also a great ambition for the welfare of my family and of our downtrodden and abused people, to meet successfully their enemies. I knew of no one from our part of the community in which I lived that had ever intimated even an ambition for anything of the kind.<sup>40</sup>

I always loved animals, especially dogs and horses. When I was fourteen, my father gave me a well-bred, three-year-old colt, which we kept for many years first as my riding pony and later to pull a cart or buggy. I always wanted a farm (Father did also), and to raise fine horses; one of my boyhood ambitions was to be a rancher. At another time, when the prospect of going east to school was bad, I thought of becoming a machinist, though I was not particularly mechanical. I did not want to be a clerk in a store, because it seemed sissy to me and better fitted for the feminine dandy, which I was not and despised. In those days, there was practically nothing for a young fellow to do but farm, ranch, work in a store or shop, drive teams, be a common laborer, or ordinary mechanic. There was some mining, but our people did not engage in that with few exceptions. We were to be home makers, community-builders, preachers of the Gospel, raisers of large families, and builders of the Kingdom of God. Mining was mostly prospecting, which meant being wanderers, living isolated in cabins in the mountains, or living in mining camps where saloons, gambling, brothels, shooting, murder, immorality, and drunkenness were the chief sources of entertainment. Therefore mining was not the place for a Latter-day Saint. There was much of truth and wisdom in that teaching. Good men, however, *could* live in such places, and finally the prevailing sentiment in mining camps came to be moral and

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<sup>40</sup> Memorandum dated Dec. 1934, Box 9, fd 3. See also undated memorandum, Box 8, fd 4.

Christian rather than the opposite. That is very distinctly the case now.<sup>41</sup>

Brigham Young had good lawyers, and I always wanted to be of service to my people, so it seemed to me that through law I could accomplish much. But again, that was only a part of it. At that age I really thought that the law was simply the greatest field that was open to such poor boys as Abraham Lincoln and James Henry Moyle. I did believe, however, that if I equipped myself well I could be of real use to my people as well as myself and family. In conclusion, the law was the great field that the Mormons did not enter and in which the bluebloods of the Church could have no advantage over me. I do not know what caused Alfales Young or Bruce Taylor to become lawyers, but those were my reasons.<sup>42</sup>

### **The Mormon-Gentile Contest**

My hatred for religious persecution was promoted considerably by the vivid and impressive testimonies borne every Sabbath by Saints from foreign lands as well as those who had lived through the "wrongs of Missouri and Illinois." It was not uncommon to hear added to these testimonies solemn oaths of vengeance which in turn gave rise to the talk about Mormon avengers and Danites and so on as depicted by the apostates. But there can be little doubt that there was truth in the claim that some Saints violated God's law of "vengeance is mine" by promising to take revenge on the unrighteous persecutors of the Church. It was that kind of atmosphere in which I grew up, and I learned a hatred for persecution and even a certain desire for revenge.<sup>43</sup>

Our neighbors in the Fifteenth Ward were all English, Welsh, and Scottish, or at least all of the heads of families in my early childhood were from Great Britain and the United States north of the Mason-Dixon line. There were no Scandinavians or Southerners among my earliest recollections. All of them were devout Latter-day Saints who had given up home, family, and country for religion and had suffered persecution for their beliefs. Conse-

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<sup>41</sup> Memorandum dated Dec. 1934, Box 9, fd 3. See also undated memorandum, Box 8, fd 4. See Leonard J. Arrington, "Abundance from the Earth: The Beginnings of Commercial Mining in Utah," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 31 (1963): 192-219.

<sup>42</sup> Memorandum dated Aug. 1943, Box 10, fd 2.

<sup>43</sup> Memorandum dated May 1944, Box 10, fd 6.

quently, what was of the greatest influence in my young life was the collective testimony they bore of the divinity of Mormonism. They realistically related their experiences of being repudiated by parents, brothers, and sisters, of losing caste socially, and of marvelous dreams and healings by faith and obedience to Gospel law. Their stories of deliverance from physical persecution and actual sufferings thrilled my soul. The testimonies were related in the Sunday night meetings and Thursday afternoon (fast day) testimony meetings. I witnessed much of the latter when I became a deacon and as such had to clean and heat the room for those meetings.<sup>44</sup>

While imbibing all of this rhetoric, I heard Republican Governor George L. Woods say there was enough wood in the mountains to build gallows on which to hang all the Mormons. I do not remember the fact but I think Woods was applauded for that speech. I had heard my father read what was said in Congress earlier, when the Mormon issue was before it. The Democrats always seemed to speak on their right to govern themselves, and that had thrilled and stirred my soul.<sup>45</sup>

In addition to the Governor Woods incident, I witnessed United States deputy marshals in the late afternoon of the election day in August 1874, come by force and take the ballot boxes from the old City Hall with the street in front jammed with people. I followed them down to Main Street, then down that street with such a crowd that they were forced into the entrance of ZCMI drug store to keep on their feet and get another start down the street. I was next to them most of the way and ready to follow the lead of any friend of the Mormons. I wanted to see the boxes taken from them to prevent their stuffing the boxes with fraudulent votes, which I believed to be their objective. I am not sure but I think that was when one of the tails of Mayor Wells's Prince Albert coat was pulled off as he tried to get through the crowd into the entrance of City Hall. He got in and came out on the balcony above to command that the peace be preserved. I believe that was the election in which his command was followed by a line of policemen

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<sup>44</sup> Memorandum dated Jan. 1945, Box 12, fd 1.

<sup>45</sup> Memorandum dated Aug. 1943, Box 10, fd 2. This Woods speech incident took place sometime in 1873. See Evans manuscript, Box 17, fd 6.

coming out and battering the heads of the offending intruders with their big billy clubs; N. V. Jones, a tall special deputy, was in the first rank and cracked down on the head of a prominent and offensive "Liberal." He was indicted for attempting to murder him. He did put him out of business for some time. In all such I was present if I had the opportunity. I was strong and athletic and keen for service, but too young or unknown to be in the special service.<sup>46</sup>

I was old enough to take some notice of the so-called judicial crusade of 1870-1872 under Judge James B. McKean. I remember well, for example, the Englebrecht liquor case in August of 1870. The city police turned \$22,000 worth of liquor into the gutter which ran down the same past the bakery down the street. The baker's horse and buggy were hitched in front of the store which was south of where the Tribune Building is now. The horse being thirsty drank enough of the whiskey and water in the ditch to make him gay. When the old baker tried to drive to his home, the drunk horse caused a disaster in which the baker's leg was broken. This made it a notable event in my young life as well as in those of my neighbors, for the baker, a member of our ward, was injured seriously.

I also have a good recollection of the John C. Sandberg naturalization case, and the others that followed. So I spent my most impressionable years during the exciting times in the 1870s when Utah was under the rule of such tyrants as McKean and R. N. Baskin. This illustrates something of my background for a mission and college.<sup>47</sup>

Many of the carpetbag officials came to Utah not to govern but to reform the domestic and religious affairs of the governed, believing that polygamy was the sum and substance of the Mormon system, and officials in Washington had no desire or intention of interfering with such action. The Republican platforms on which they had been elected contained a plank calling for the abolition of the twin relics of barbarism: slavery and polygamy. Some of

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<sup>46</sup> Memorandum dated Aug. 1943, Box 10, fd 2. Moyle's memory of this municipal election day conforms essentially with the account in Edward W. Tullidge, *History of Salt Lake City* (Salt Lake City: Star Printing Company, 1886), pp. 608-14.

<sup>47</sup> Memorandum dated Aug. 1943, Box 10, fd 2. See Tullidge, *Salt Lake City*, pp. 512-22.

those officials were religious fanatics and not a few knew no limit to their fanatical instincts. And Brigham Young was by no means exempt from fanaticism. He even said that men should wear bowie knives or stick pins on their shirts in order to fight against enemies.<sup>48</sup>

An exceptionally fine non-Mormon priest was Episcopal Bishop Daniel Tuttle, who throughout his long residence here commanded the respect of all classes. He refused to join in the religious and political crusades against the Mormons. I well remember seeing the stone cut for St. Mark's. The first Episcopalian religious services were conducted in Independence Hall on Third South a few rods west of Main Street. Tuttle came to Utah with some prejudice, but he stands out conspicuously as no other so-called evangelical preacher did in my early life. He later went to St. Louis where he served again for many years with marked distinction. He set the pace for his successors who generally followed his example. I have had great respect for the Episcopal clergy wherever I have found them. They are educated, conservative, and dignified. They do not get down to the level of intolerance with most of the Methodist and Presbyterian preachers. Too many of the latter would have joined in the days of burning at the stake unorthodox Christians. As a boy I hated them just as I respected Bishop Tuttle and the quiet, unostentatious, and modest Catholic Bishop Lawrence Scanlan, who tended to his own knitting and let other people's business and affairs alone. He too will go down in the history of Utah as a greatly honored citizen and priest. Immediately after the erection of the little red brick Catholic church on Second East, Father took me to one of the first services held in the building. I well remember the odd impressions I had when a member passed the bowl and they dipped their fingers in the water and touched their forehead, eyes, nose, and mouth with the water. It is hard for me to say just what I thought, except that it seemed superstitious, but I had always heard that much of Catholicism was superstition. Father, however, gave me some idea of its sacred character in the minds of the people.<sup>49</sup>

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<sup>48</sup> Undated memorandum, Box 8, fd 5.

<sup>49</sup> Memorandum dated Dec. 1944, Box 1, fd 4. See James W. Beless, Jr., "Daniel S. Tuttle, Missionary Bishop of Utah," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 27 (1959): Robert J.

I think it best not to mention the names of those I detested among religionists, for history will not extol them. Their petty, miserable falsehoods and misrepresentations will go into obscurity. But I take pleasure in honoring the two pioneer non-Mormon religious leaders and those after them who followed in their footsteps. They accomplished something of value for Mormons and Gentiles alike.<sup>50</sup>

### **Polygamy, First Hand**

The big issue of all the anti-Mormon feeling, plural marriage, was a very different thing from what even our own young people now think it was, to say nothing about the gross misconceptions of the total strangers to it. The silence of our people on the subject now is nothing short of remarkable, especially to one who lived in Utah in the 1880s and 1890s when it was the most talked of and publicized subject before the public eye. It may be due to the fact that one extreme generally follows another, like the movement of the pendulum of a clock.<sup>51</sup>

When I was about fifteen, Father courted and married Aunt Maggie (Margaret Anna Cannell). It caused Mother many heartaches, and I well recall her emotions when she knew Father was away with his new-found love. But Mother endured heroically with only minor complaints and protests. She submitted to the inevitable with Christian devotion and reconciliation, but I am glad my wife and children have been spared the experience. I have always believed that Father did about as well as any of the polygamists, and the family was frequently referred to as rather a model polygamist family, but I knew of the jealousy and the heartaches that could not always be suppressed when Father clearly exhibited his appreciation for his young wife who was inclined to humor him more than Mother would, particularly in his taste for liquor. Mother was adamant against it, because she knew thoroughly Father's failing for it, but Aunt Maggie liked it about as well as Father did, and he went to her when he could not resist the desire

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Dwyer, "Pioneer Bishop: Lawrence Scanlan, 1843-1915," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 20 (1952): 135-58.

<sup>50</sup> Memorandum dated Dec. 1944, Box 1, fd 4.

<sup>51</sup> Memorandum dated May 1938, Box 9, fd 3. See Sessions, "View of James Henry Moyle," pp. 14-19.

for liquor. Mother was not narrow on the subject; she made as much as ten gallons at a time of the most choice currant wine (gathering the currants and making the wine herself) for Father and herself, and would give me some. It had a real kick in it, and I have often used a straw when Mother could not see to get some. I never tasted anything better, and I doubt if anything better was ever made.

I have always believed Father's success was due not only to his having two good women for wives and good judgment on his own part, but more than all to Mother's devotion to her religion. She would have made a real practical martyr, not because she was overly religious or fanatical, but because she knew nothing else. She was born into the Church during the trying days of Nauvoo and passed her young life on the plains of Iowa in Winter Quarters, and pioneering in Utah. She married at seventeen without education, so all she knew was religion, labor, and hardship with a little fun, occasionally a dance or concert. Singing the songs of Zion constituted most of her diversion. I was born when she was nineteen and she had a baby not more than each two years thereafter until there were fourteen.<sup>52</sup>

When Aunt Maggie's first baby (Edith) was born, both wives lived in the old house. Mother was at Woods Cross at the time visiting her mother. Father was in trouble for help, so I walked on the railroad tracks to Woods Cross and came back home with Mother who waited on Aunt Maggie and did so nobly and ungrudgingly. I must have been about fifteen. I think the balance of Aunt Maggie's children were born in the Bywater house.<sup>53</sup>

I well remember Mother cooking in the open fireplace with pots and skillet, and recollect the fact that buffalo chips were sometimes used with the sagebrush to make fires and even to help cook. I remember that it was a great event in the family and in the neighborhood when the first cook stove, a "No. 7 Charter Oak," came to our house. Mother frequently baked bread in it for the neighbors and particularly newcomers who had neither cooking

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<sup>52</sup> Undated memorandum, Box 8, fd 2. Of the fourteen children of James and Elizabeth Moyle, only six survived to adulthood.

<sup>53</sup> Undated memorandum, Box 8, fd 2. James Moyle bought the George Bywater house in the Fifteenth Ward for his second family.

utensils nor fuel. I took bread to a new family across the street one night, and as I approached I heard beautiful singing with a feeling and emotion I had seldom heard. "Hard times, hard times come again no more." I will never forget it, young though I was. They were very poor and later moved to Tooele where they ran a store in a dugout.

Mother was the good angel of the neighborhood; she was clever and willing at sewing and cutting out clothing, at spinning and carding, and weaving and cooking. She was always willing to teach the poor English and Welsh women who had not been reared in pioneer life. It was her pleasure. She made butter and divided the buttermilk with the neighbors, the same with the heart and liver and sweetbread of the pigs and calves when we killed. She even had time to be a block teacher, notwithstanding her family duties. She would undertake to set a broken limb or aid in any kind of an operation. I remember how she would jump on a horse bareback, throw her knee over his shoulder and ride sidesaddle like a circus rider. She could not be beaten in doing things like that. She had no education. I was quite grown when Charley Pierson (who later became a lawyer) came to the house and taught Mother to read and write.

Her father, Grandfather Daniel Wood, located on his arrival here in 1848 on the northeast corner of South Temple and First West. Then in 1849 he took up his homestead at Woods Cross. Perrigrine Sessions had located in Bountiful about four months before, and they were the first settlers north of Salt Lake City, hence the upper part of Bountiful came to be called Sessions Settlement. Grandfather said that there was a question when they took out the water whether there would be enough water for the two families. Now there is a farming community of more than 5,000 using the same water supply. Grandfather, being in an unsettled section and having a large family, built his own schoolhouse and meetinghouse and maintained a school teacher himself. In my time this was Charley Pierson. I would like to have the iron bell which hung in the old schoolhouse and called in family and neighbors to church school, concerts, dances, and so on. Grandfather's boys constituted a very good string band. He often brought in entertainers to his place—conjurers, sword swal-

lowers, and lantern slide pictures. He was a real patriarch and ruled as such.<sup>54</sup>

So I grew up in a polygamous family. I saw firsthand the blessings and curses. One thing I can say for certain and that is that I could not have had instilled in me a higher ideal of morality and chastity, which is and was far from the general beliefs concerning the state of polygamy in Utah. I feel indebted to the Church leaders, especially in the Fifteenth Ward, who instilled into my very fiber the belief that sexual morality was one of the very highest moral obligations of man and that the violation of sexual morality was in fact the most hideous crime man can commit save that of murder alone. Yet many is the time, especially in traveling among strangers to my religious faith, that I have been asked, "Well, how about *polygamy* in Utah?" It was in my early and numerous trips east a never-failing question. No one ever asked about "*morality* in Utah."<sup>55</sup>

### Great Salt Lake City

My memory of Salt Lake City commences after the construction of the high wall around the Temple Block and the cobble wall nearly as high around the Tithing Office, Deseret News, the homes of Brigham Young, extending as it did to First Avenue and running northerly, the extension of which was constructed of earth. That was particularly true of the high wall made of earth on Capitol Hill, which stood, as near as I can remember, just west of where the Capitol now is and on to the north. It was constructed in 1853 as a protection against the Indians.<sup>56</sup>

My first distinct recollection of seeing anything east of Main Street was that of Eagle Gate. It was constructed of timber and, I remember, was closed with light poles, which were frequently used

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<sup>54</sup> Undated memorandum, Box 8, fd 2. See William R. Purrington, "The History of South Davis County from 1847-1870," M.S. thesis, University of Utah, 1959; Sessions, "Biographies and Reminiscences," pp. 61-71; Gene A. Sessions, "Conscience More than Comfort: Daniel Wood," *Latter-day Patriots: Nine Mormon Families and Their Revolutionary War Heritage* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Co., 1975), pp. 43-63.

<sup>55</sup> Undated memorandum, Box 8, fd 5.

<sup>56</sup> Undated memorandum, Box 8, fd 2. Great Salt Lake City became Salt Lake City in 1868. Jenson, *Encyclopedic History*, p. 741. See additionally Charles B. Anderson, "The Growth Patterns of Salt Lake City, Utah, and Its Determining Factors," Ph.D. diss., New York University, 1945.

for such purposes where pole fences were in use. A little later there were two gates made of pickets which swung from the sides to the center. There was a road through the gateway north to City Creek on North Temple. There stood at the northwest corner of State and North Temple a large blacksmith shop in which tools were made and sharpened for cutting stone and other work, shoeing horses, and accommodating the public generally. Just west of that gate was a large flour mill owned by Heber C. Kimball, whose home was on that block facing Main Street. From there on there were no buildings. Brigham Young owned the west side of State Street and his main barn was on the west side of State, then a mere road to City Creek Canyon, and he had another barn, President Grant says, with a lamb at the top of it, on account of which they called the building the "lamb barn." That was surrounded, as was the barn on the west, with the orchards and gardens of Brigham Young.

It was not until after I was married in 1887 that the high cobble wall which ran from the east side of the Eagle Gate was removed. It had a doorway for pedestrians not far north of South Temple, which led to the Eighteenth Ward Meetinghouse generally called "Brigham Young's Meetinghouse." When the wards of the city were first laid off, there were only nineteen and the Eighteenth Ward included everything east of Main and north of South Temple. Later, the Twentieth Ward was organized and I think I remember when the Twenty-first Ward was organized. It included everything to the east, including what is now the popular Federal Heights section, but at that time was nothing but a dry barren waste with maybe a spring of sufficient size to furnish some water for two or more slaughterhouses, and the now rich and choice section was then known as "Slaughterville."

The wall around Temple Square was the same as it is now except that it was not plastered and there was a solid wall around the entire block with entrances on the four sides only large enough for a vehicle. The opening was greatly enlarged on the south side in about 1875. A railroad track was laid from the depot up South Temple to the Temple Grounds for the purpose of delivering rock there from Little Cottonwood Canyon, and that made it necessary to greatly enlarge the entrance. Prior to that time the large stones, many of them huge, were all transported chiefly by ox team.

Brigham Young partly constructed a canal from Little Cottonwood Canyon, which ran through my farm in Cottonwood. A small portion of that canal as they left it still exists at the extreme north where there is a number of cottonwood trees, now not so very far from Highland Drive. It was intended to transport the rock by water. Whether President Young had in mind using the canal for irrigating purposes or not, I do not know.

The property south on both sides of Main from South Temple Street, as I remember it, was residential except that at Third South and Main there was a two-story building, which Dan Clift had erected. The upstairs was used as a dance hall and court room. I remember attending an important trial there. I think it was that of a notorious horse thief, but I do not remember the name. Bill Hickman was the principle horse thief in this section of the territory, with his headquarters in the mouth of Bingham Canyon. There were practically no farms west of the Jordan River and he and the Cottons, with whom he was associated, could ride the range with their branding irons with a good deal of freedom, as was done elsewhere in the territory.

At the northeast corner of Second South and West Temple were the California Corrals. Quite a large tract was enclosed with very substantial poles. As I remember, there were stables connected with it. About all I remember was that in the fall of the year, those who had horses and cattle running at large (as a good many did) on the range west of the Jordan River would agree on a time to ride the range and gather up the horses at one time and the cattle at another. They would be brought into the corral and there each could pick out his young stock and brand it and return it to the range if he wanted. It was quite an exciting scene when they would lasso horses that had never been handled. There were many cowboys in those days who enjoyed showing how they could ride wild horses. It was quite an accomplishment and a very useful one, because horses raised on the open range were never handled and, when old enough to ride, were hard to break. That characterized most of the young horses.<sup>57</sup>

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<sup>57</sup> Undated memorandum, Box 8, fd 2. See N. Keith Roberts and B. Delworth Gardner, "Livestock and the Public Lands," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 32 (1964): 285-300.

I have little recollection of what stood south of the old Salt Lake House Hotel, which was near the center of the block at about where the Tribune Building is now, except the Hussey (First National) Bank Building, which was the first four-story building in the city. I remember about the time it was erected they had a large lump of extremely rich gold ore said to be worth thousands of dollars that attracted a great deal of attention.

The old Salt Lake House was the leading hotel and was then the headquarters and office of the Overland Stage. One of the most thrilling experiences of my boyhood was to witness the four-horse stage swinging as it did from side to side and front and back, with the driver high up in front with his whip, which he could crack over and on the lead team if he wanted to, dashing down Main Street from the north to the Salt Lake House. I think it gave the driver a thrill, because it was one of the most exciting sights of the time. It was not so unlike our going to see the trains come into the Utah Central Railroad Station in the early days.

The principle courtroom of the United States court was in the Faust Livery Stable in the middle of the block, where the Wilson Hotel now stands on the south side of Second South between Main and State. It was a two-story structure with the entrance to the upstairs on the outside—just a stairway hung to the west wall of the building—with the principal livery stable of the city below and the courtroom above. I suppose it was also used for dances and gatherings of different kinds. H. J. “Doc” Faust was an interesting pioneer character and livery stables in those days were very important business places.<sup>58</sup>

The courthouse in which the county offices were and business was transacted was located at Second South and Second West and stood until a recent date, although for a long time it ceased to be used as such when the present City and County Building was erected.

Outside of ward meeting houses, which were used in those early days for entertainments of all kinds, as well as for church services, there were no public buildings excepting those that have

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<sup>58</sup> Undated memorandum, Box 8, fd 2. The original wooden stable burned in 1865 and was replaced with a stone building. Moyle most certainly remembered the latter structure. See *Journal History of the Church*, 23 Nov. 1865, pp. 1, 3, MS, CLA.

been named with the exception of Social Hall, which was located on State where Motor (Social Hall) Avenue now is. That was used in the early days for all kinds of entertainment—social and educational. Independence Hall, located on the south side of Third South a short distance west of Main Street, was a well-known public building used chiefly by non-Mormons as far as I remember for public meetings and entertainments.

With the boom of 1889 and 1890, great changes took place. The Mormon people generally regarded their homes as an inheritance in Zion and it was against their high ideals, if not their belief, to sell the same to non-Mormons. But the taxes were high and prices were alluring and a real change took place in the attitude of the Mormon people, who, however reluctant, parted with their old homes. The most notable example that I remember was that of Hamilton G. Park, a unique and interesting character, who owned a lot (which means an acre and a quarter) located on the northeast corner of Main and Second South, where a splendid, modern hotel was erected. The old Park home was also surrounded by an orchard and garden. Hamilton did some of his most serious thinking in solving the problem as to whether he would take the money of the promoters of the hotel and part with his inheritance, but he did so and was advised to do it by Church leaders.<sup>59</sup>

### **Saints and the Lamanites**

There were plenty of Indians around in the early days of the city. An old Indian called Tom seemed to be the uncle of all the Indian children. In the summertime he often came to our house, and when I was very small, he greatly frightened me. I perfectly well recall running from him crying, and him saying to my mother, "Me his uncle. Tell him." He claimed that distinction because my grandfather was the adopted father of his nephew and niece. He was a local Indian of some small prominence who often brought with him to our home a number of other Indians, maybe ten, twelve, or as many as fifteen who tied their horses to the old pole fence around our lot while they begged and went to town to see the sights and make purchases. They threw their saddles and gear

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<sup>59</sup> Undated memorandum, Box 8, fd 2.

over our fence. They were not permitted to remain within the city limits overnight.<sup>60</sup>

It was a common thing to see squaws begging or selling something. I remember especially their selling sarvis (service) berries, because I loved them so much. Those berries were really fine, were quite abundant, and squaws came to the door loaded with them. I do not think they grow much below six thousand feet elevation. I never missed getting them when they were in reach, but they seem to be scarce now. In Big Cottonwood Canyon they grew most abundantly about five miles below Brighton. They were as large as good-sized currants, and a very dark blue to purplish color.

I remember that Tom often came to Mother saying he and his friends were hungry and Mother would give them food, mostly bread as I recall. That was a treat for them. They could camp at the city limits and I have watched them cook over the campfire, but I can only remember them cooking one thing, meat. Once it looked like a large rabbit or young dog or lamb or something of the kind. They say that the Utes even ate grasshoppers when they were abundant and their other food scarce. They boiled the meat in a big iron pot.

Indians, in their crude and simple native garb, were a common sight both in our neighborhood and even on Main Street in those days. At first they wore no clothes, but later they did. It was not uncommon to see them dragging their tent poles tied to the backs of their horses. Tom once came to our place with the poles so attached to the horses. Their wickiups were frequently very crude, the tops always badly smoked, and sometimes they were very old and dilapidated. A camp of Indians on the suburbs always interested me. When traveling they did not all go together but in groups, maybe families. Camping places were generally across the Jordan or in the sagebrush above the city on the north, at least where I saw them. I have seen them on what is now Capitol Hill so they could be near businesses, as well as begging grounds.

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<sup>60</sup> Undated memorandum, Box 8, fd 4. See J. Cecil Alter, "The Mormons and the Indians: News Items and Editorials from the Mormon Press," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 12 (1944): 49-69; Grant J. Harr, "Saint and Savage: Mormons and the Indians in Utah, 1846-1900," Ph.D. diss., University of California, Los Angeles, 1967.

Laziness was a characteristic of the Indians, especially with the bucks. The squaws did the work that was done, got the wood and water, made the fires, and did the cooking. They generally had dogs that would help catch rabbits and earn their own living, unless the Indians were very fortunate. The dogs, too, were generally of the lean and hungry-looking type. Although their horses were small, the bucks never walked, though the squaws did.

My Grandfather Wood adopted two Indian children, a boy and a girl. The girl married a white man by the name of Blood Beach. I think they reared a family in southern Utah. I have no recollection at all about whom the boy married, but it does run in my mind that he was reared to manhood. Grandfather's record shows he also adopted Charles W. Pierson, an English boy, who became his scribe and schoolteacher. Pierson taught one winter in the Fifteenth Ward and later became a lawyer and the right-of-way attorney for the Bamberger Interurban Railroad. I think he was employed by that company until his death. I am quite sure Grandfather adopted others, but I do not remember who.<sup>61</sup>

### Growing Up in the Fifteenth Ward

It was not uncommon in the summer for boats to be kept at First South just east of Seventh West, and from there you could boat all the way down the Jordan River. When the canals were dug to the north from the west side of the city, I often skated on the canal to Hot Spring Lake. A favorite place for skating was south of South Temple and west of Seventh West for several blocks. We also hunted ducks in the sloughs from there to the Jordan. When we were old enough, we swam in the Jordan about where First South would cross the river, but the Jordan was very treacherous and drownings occasionally occurred. The old white bridge at North Temple was the only bridge over the river immediately west of the city until I was quite a lad. It was a popular rendezvous for venturesome kids who disregarded the wishes and instructions of their parents. One of the biggest achievements for a boy was to

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<sup>61</sup> Undated memorandum, Box 8, fd 4. For an interesting discussion of adoption among the Mormons, see Gordon Irving, "The Law of Adoption: One Phase of the Development of the Mormon Concept of Salvation, 1830-1900," *Brigham Young University Studies* 14 (Spring 1973): 291-314.

swim across the Jordan, and one of the worst pranks of boyhood was to hide the boys' clothes while they swam, or worse, to tie them in hard knots often wetting the shirts so the knot could not be untied. I cannot think boys are so mean nowadays.

My mother was a peace-loving woman and would punish me for fighting. I hated it also, being very diffident, but I did not realize my strength and boys a little older and smaller licked me for a short time. I soon found myself, however, and then how I surprised some of them, and how the bantams suddenly found it convenient to leave me completely alone. I had one real disadvantage, though, because I was subject to severe nose bleeding from no apparent cause, even when I slept. And when I fought, my nose bled profusely as soon as it was disturbed, and it was hard to stop. I long since outgrew it, but not when I was in the fighting business.

I loved all kinds of physical sports and nothing better than ball and skating. When I was about ten Father bought my first store skates for Christmas. They had a screw at the heel about an inch long intended to be screwed into the heel of the shoe to hold the skates in place, but neither Father nor I knew how to operate it, so he cut the screw quite short and then the straps would not hold the skates in place and I had many bad falls trying to skate on those skates.

We skated in winter on various ponds, particularly one immediately south of Third South between Fifth and Sixth West and swam there in the summer. A favorite swimming and fishing place was just west of Second South which ended between Sixth and Seventh West. It was there that I and a number of others were baptized. It was a favorite place for such ordinances. I think we called it Jim Brown's Hole. I also fished there often. During the high-water season in the spring, boats were freely used there and north and west to the Jordan. My favorite playground as a child was on Sixth West between First and Second South in front of Edward Ashton's. There we played marbles, ball, and all the games common to the time. One of the favorite amusements was to get a nice long willow such as grew on the bottoms just below and put a dab of clay on the end and throw it about twenty rods when people were not looking. I have hit the objective when it was the new hat of some good neighbor, though I never admitted it before.

The Ashton boys, Ed, Jed, and Brig, were my earliest chums; Brig was just my age. He and I alternated playing and fighting.

We had two cows and my riding pony, all of which I cared for. We raised all our fruit, potatoes, vegetables, and generally about enough corn for our pigs, and fodder with hay for our cows. I abominated hoeing and weeding, because it kept me from the Ashtons. Being the oldest, I also had to mind the babies, churn, chop wood, and do all the chores. Oh, how burdensome but unavoidable it was. And how many switchings Mother gave me for neglect and never when I did not deserve them.

Competing with the Ashton boys as favorite companions were Joe Bywater and John Lloyd. Joe's father was a great preacher. His family prayers were long, eloquent, and impressive in sound, but too long to impress favorably the boys who wanted to get out to play after breakfast as well as after supper. Subsequently, none of the Bywater boys was noted for being prayerful.

At about twelve or thirteen I began to sow my wild oats. I started by being out nights at the Utah Central Railroad Station, where the roughs assembled. There Joe and John and I got cigarettes and smoked, and I began my downward career. I soon after joined the wayward in going swimming on Sundays without a chaperon. We played cards for playthings, pocket knives, and some of the boys even played for money. Soon after I quit the more quiet boys of the Fifteenth Ward and Sixth West for the sons of more important families—Tom Tennant, Charley Barnum, Fred Jones, and Hosea Burton. They were rapidly becoming real sports, and when I was about fourteen, we got drunk in the saloon at Third West and First South on the northeast corner. I went to a party in the ward house in that condition, which shocked the natives and was a terrible blow to my father who said he would rather follow me to the grave than have me pursue that course. Oh, how thirsty I was the next morning. I played the truant and ran away from school to see the races that were several miles away over the Jordan beyond Third or Fourth South. I made fun of the boys who acted as deacons and so on.

This continued until I was in my fifteenth year, when Bishop Joseph Pollard, in a most authoritative and impressive way, said to me, "I want you to be a deacon." I was almost stunned with surprise, indeed bewildered, but there was in me as if by instinct

and certainly by training the conception that the bishop had a right to demand my services and it was my duty to respond. I put him off, saying I would let him know. The more I thought of it the more I felt it my duty to yield, but how could I face the boys? I loved and respected my parents and I knew they would be immensely pleased, so finally I concluded to accept the call. I gradually broke away from the roughs, and so devoted myself to the duties of deacon that the bishop said I was the best in the ward. We cleaned out the meetinghouse, swept, mopped and dusted, filled the coal-oil lamps, trimmed the wicks, made the fire, did all the janitorial work, and put the house in order generally, and looked after the door and entrance. In those days, everybody found their seats unaided. We performed no spiritual duty and received no special spiritual instruction or training, and there was no organization or quorum of deacons so far as I can recall. We merely took our turns cleaning the meetinghouse and had it to do frequently. I was very conscientious about it, and never thereafter allowed myself to be wayward or irreligious. I then acted as a ward teacher travelling with an older man, and at sixteen I had my endowments in the old Endowment House. Then at seventeen I was ordained a seventy at the home of James Barlow by James Cummings who was president, and was admitted as a member of the second quorum.<sup>62</sup>

John Smith, who gave me my patriarchal blessing, forecast my future life in a notable, prophetic way, and I wholeheartedly believe he was inspired of the Lord in the giving of that blessing. I have felt that distinctly from the first, and claimed it of the Lord as a right if I lived worthily of it. Patriarch Smith, whom I believe enjoyed a large degree of divine inspiration when functioning in his office, was another marked example of a mixture of the good and bad, success and failure, divine guidance and error in the same individual. In spite of the Word of Wisdom, he so loved liquor and tobacco that he violated that law in an almost flagrant way. That was the opinion of his neighbors and many of those who knew him well. My wife, for example, was reared within a half block of his home. His family too was not a model or even fair representative of a Mormon family religiously. They paid little attention to

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<sup>62</sup> Undated memorandum, Box 8, fd 2.

religious activities in the ward or Church, for the father was away much of the time giving blessings. In fact, the members of the family were such that no son (though he had several) was thought worthy to be his successor. As I remember, the Church had to wait some time for his grandson to be old enough or fit for the duties of the office. Consequently, the enjoyment of the right ended there in that family, at least for the present.<sup>63</sup>

John Smith gave me my blessing in the living room of his modest adobe home on the corner of Third South and First West. His daughter wrote it down in longhand. He was some time—perhaps a half hour or more—giving it. He walked up and down and around the room. He spoke very deliberately and paused at times as if waiting for further inspiration. I observed the color of tobacco very distinctly on his heavy mustache and beard near his mouth. He was gray and distinctly patriarchal in appearance, and looked the part he performed.<sup>64</sup>

#### Life in the Commonwealth

When the Mutual Improvement Associations were organized, I became a member, and though diffident forced myself to take part and to become active. I think I was secretary of all events when Tom Hunn was made president. I was one of his counselors and later became president, working successfully to bring into the association some of the wild and wayward. I was also an active teacher in Sunday School and for a considerable time secretary of the school under Thomas C. Griggs, whom I respected very greatly. At fourteen, being a large and strong boy, I was put to work on the Temple Block as a stonecutter. I worked all summer doing heavy, rough work. I was paid by the piece, and made good wages, all of which was turned over to Father. Our pay was in tithing orders and very little cash which always went for flour, meat, and potatoes. But you generally had to wait a long time to get meat or anything very desirable. To get meat we would go early in the morning before work, which began in those days at seven, quitting

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<sup>63</sup> Memorandum dated Dec. 1944, Box 1, fd 4. See Joseph Fielding Smith, *Essentials in Church History*, 24th ed. (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Co., 1971), pp. 581-82.

<sup>64</sup> Memorandum dated Dec. 1944, Box 1, fd 4. See Irene M. Bates and E. Gary Smith, *Lost Legacy: The Mormon Office of Presiding Patriarch* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1996), pp. 107-18.

at six. I remember we had quite a time getting bran for the cows and wheat for the chickens. It was desirable to play up to the clerk, old Ben Hampton; the men said a bottle of whiskey went a long way with him. The Dixie people raised grapes and made wine, paid tithing with it, and then we could get some of the wine from the tithing office. That was considered all right if used temperately, and neither was it sinful to drink Margett's and Eddie's Beer which would and did intoxicate.<sup>65</sup>

Tithing was paid in kind; for example, the Dixie wine was brought all the way to the Tithing Office in Salt Lake City. Anything a man produced, whether hay or grain or vegetables, was hauled to the Tithing Yards and stored there. The Salt Lake Tithing Office, storehouse, and hay yards were where the Hotel Utah is now with the stockyards and corrals nearby. In each city or county seat there were smaller but similar accommodations for handling tithing paid in kind.<sup>66</sup>

Later, a little building was erected on the Tithing Grounds where the stake headquarters operated a lot for the purpose of handling and caring for the tithing. In the wintertime it was easily identified by that little one-room structure and the stacks of hay in the yard adjoining.<sup>67</sup>

As a little boy I carried a tin bucket holding maybe a gallon of flour to Brother Varney's home where, as the representative of the bishop, he had barrels, boxes, and bins in which were kept the monthly fast donations of the members of the ward. These were generally paid in some commodity which the poor could eat. Mother paid our fast donation (as I think many did) in flour.

Men worked in those days ten hours a day with no transportation except shanks ponies [on foot]. Hence the day's work was longer by a half hour or more before and after hours. There were no holidays except July the Fourth, Pioneer Day (July 24), Christmas, and New Year's Day. Work was a daylight-to-dark affair much

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<sup>65</sup> Undated memorandum, Box 8, fd 2.

<sup>66</sup> Memorandum dated Feb. 1943, Box 9, fd 7. See Leonard J. Arrington and Ralph W. Hansen, "Mormon Economic Organization: A Sheaf of Illustrative Documents," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 28 (1960): 41-55.

<sup>67</sup> Memorandum dated Feb. 1943, Box 9, fd 7. See Leonard J. Arrington "The Mormon Tithing House: A Frontier Business Institution," *Business History Review* 28 (Mar. 1954): 24-58.

of the year, with no amusement but an occasional dance, concert, or theater of some kind at night for most of the folks, with ball playing, running, jumping, swimming, skating, wrestling, boxing, horse racing, fighting, and so on for the boys, but not for the girls. Such was life in Salt Lake City and elsewhere in Utah in the 1860s and much so in the 1870s and 1880s. The reforms or luxuries of short working hours, Saturday afternoons off, and frequent holidays and amusements were little-known or talked about. The established habit of seeing a movie or being at a dance once a week or much oftener was inconceivable, and yet we were as happy then if not happier than now.<sup>68</sup>

A ward, in those days, constituted a little social, religious, and political commonwealth that provided for all the needs of the society. The bishop and his counselors were the complete local government. Block teachers, supplemented by the Relief Society teachers, looked after every social, economic, and political need of every member of the ward. They were the economic and social guardians of the community, of which all members were of the same religious and political faith.<sup>69</sup>

I remember well when the first non-Mormon made his home in the ward about a block away from our house. He was a modest, quiet, good citizen—a miner who had sold his claims in the mountains for sufficient to enable him to retire for life in a modest way.<sup>70</sup>

If a person were sick or in need, he received assistance promptly. There was no red tape or formalities. There were both male and female block teachers on each block, and the bishop was soon advised if there was more than ordinary neighborly help needed. Even the school trustees operated in harmony with the bishop in selecting the schoolteacher. The bishop also sponsored the entertainments which consisted chiefly of dances, concerts, and occasional lectures.

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<sup>68</sup> Memorandum dated Oct. 1943, Box 10, fd 3.

<sup>69</sup> Undated memorandum, Box 9, fd 2. See Arrington, *Great Basin Kingdom*, pp. 30-31.

<sup>70</sup> Undated memorandum, Box 9, fd 2. See Robert J. Dwyer, *The Gentile Comes to Utah: A Study in Religious and Social Conflict (1862-1890)* (Washington, D.C.; Catholic University of America Press, 1941). Moyle read Dwyer with great interest since he had witnessed firsthand the subject of the book. See his copious reading notes in Boxes 13-15.

The actual city government consisted locally of a justice of the peace and a constable who took charge when coercive measures were needed. But the bishop was the most important individual in this little commonwealth, and the ward and its territorial limits was a real political entity, almost as complete as the little nations of Europe in their spheres. The poor were kept in their own homes, on a level not so far from that of their neighbors. Even the ordinarily insane stayed home. I remember one who was chained to a pole in his dooryard.<sup>71</sup>

The knowledge of Brigham Young's leadership in commonwealth building has extended to every great nation of the world and will stand as an ideal to be studied. But the simplicity of the society of that day has so changed that a new social and economic order is now demanded and the old ideals, however much to be preserved so far as practical, must yield to the demands of our present complicated social and economic conditions. To reason otherwise would be like trying to go back to the means of transportation that required three months to make the trip to the Missouri River that is now made in a few hours.

If the authors of socialism or communism have advanced ideas that will aid in the solution of vital problems in our social order, they should not be ignored just because they are part of an unpopular ideology. It is true that the essentials of man's free agency must be preserved, and likewise the rule of the majority, for there is something of divinity in it. Every political advance made to meet the needs of a higher social and political order involved the surrender of freedom. The Constitution of the United States, now honored by all the liberty-loving of the world, required both men and colonies to surrender some elements of freedom. Every law involves restraint and limitation of freedoms, especially of the strong and in favor of the weak and peace-loving. To say that we are being unwisely and unfairly deprived of our liberties and property in meeting demands of present-day social and economic reforms is only the repetition of the cry of the reactionary

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<sup>71</sup> Undated memorandum, Box 9, fd 2. For an interesting study of life in early Utah, see Nels Anderson, *Desert Saints: The Mormon Frontier in Utah* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1942), pp. 83-446. In connection with the function of the bishop and the ward in the community, see especially *ibid.*, pp. 334-60.

against every social and economic advance of society and government. It is true there is danger in overdoing it and it should be remembered always that the price of liberty is eternal vigilance, but there are merits on both sides of the great issues of life, and the happy medium course should prevail so as to let progress come naturally as man is able to receive it and digest it. Too much of most anything at a time should be avoided. But we might just as well try to dam the Mississippi all at once and in one place as to try to dam the course of progress because it involves a loss of freedoms heretofore enjoyed. That is what the reactionary attempts to do when he cries out against necessary socio-economic changes. An equal error is made by the rash radical who would attempt to go too fast and too far at a time.<sup>72</sup>

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<sup>72</sup> Undated memorandum, Box 9, fd 2. See additionally for the period of this chapter the following: undated memoranda, Box 9, fd 1; Box 8, fd 1; Box 8, fd 8; memorandum dated May 1943, Box 10, fd 1; memorandum dated Feb.-Apr. 1944, Box 10, fd 6.

### Chapter 3

# MISSIONARY

#### Brother Brigham

I have a very clear remembrance of Brigham Young. He died in 1877, making me old enough and big enough to be one of the bodyguards at his funeral. He gave me the impression of great force and strength of character. That, however, is no doubt influenced some by other facts I learned from reading. When I read as a young boy Tullidge's history of Brigham Young, I was thrilled as probably nothing I ever read before by his account of the President's treatment of Johnston's Army (the Utah Expedition of 1857-58) when negotiations were on relative to the terms upon which our people would permit the peaceful entry of that army into the Salt Lake Valley. The Saints were poverty-stricken, with nothing but a job lot of old guns of all kinds picked up here and there. Their ammunition was largely of their own crude making, the powder and bullets home-made by the simplest of methods.<sup>1</sup>

I was also impressed by the fact that when merchants, builders, and farmers (and we had few other callings except laborers) wanted to engage in something new, or to go east to make

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<sup>1</sup> Undated memorandum, Box 8, fd 3; James Henry Moyle Collection, Library-Archives, Historical Department, Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City, hereinafter cited as CLA. All references hereinafter to box and folder (fd) are for items from this collection. See Edward W. Tullidge, *Life of Brigham Young; or, Utah and Her Founders*, 2d ed. (New York: Tullidge & Crandall, 1877), pp. 242-96.

purchases, or to move out into new or underdeveloped sections, they would call on “Brother Brigham,” as he was familiarly called, for advice. He seemed to be the all-out leader. He was a father to all, and exercised the privileges of a real father to all in that respect. My father-in-law, Henry Dinwoodey, became a thrifty and successful businessman, and knowing that Brother Brigham was in need of money for some enterprise and not wanting to be asked to invest in it, called on him and said, “Brother Brigham, I am badly in need of more money.” In this way he could keep in Brigham’s good graces without having to invest his money.<sup>2</sup>

Many of the brethren went to Brother Brigham for advice about getting married, not only as to women but how they would be able to build and take care of a home, where they should locate, and so on. With all of these things, not to mention the big problems of community life and empire-building, I was impressed with the idea that Brigham Young was all but a king as well as great high priest, prophet, and father to his people whom he called in from the nations of the world.<sup>3</sup>

### The Gathering

I shall never forget the wretched poverty of the immigrants as they made their fire beside their covered wagons and cooked their meals in a pot and skillet and frying pan. Some of them remained in the campgrounds for a considerable time. Most of them were taken in by friends or relatives, but some remained for weeks before they were located in more or less remote sections of the territory. Some made homes on the hillside in dug-outs where they lived for years. Half of the houses or more were underground, with mother earth for walls and roof. That was not such an uncommon sight in Salt Lake City and the settlements in the country. The makeshift homes on the bad or poor lands near the city were sometimes much like those I saw on the

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<sup>2</sup> Undated memorandum, Box 8, fd 3. For Henry Dinwoodey’s autobiography, see Gene A. Sessions, ed., “Biographies and Reminiscences from the James Henry Moyle Collection,” unpublished manuscript, 1974, CLA, sec. 12.

<sup>3</sup> Undated memorandum, Box 8, fd 3. Recent and notable works on the life of Brigham Young are Leonard J. Arrington, *Brigham Young: American Moses* (New York: Knopf, 1985), and Newell G. Bringhurst, *Brigham Young and the Expanding American Frontier* (Boston: Little, Brown and Co., 1986).

riverside in New York City and other cities during the Great Depression of the 1930s where homes were made of outcast materials which could be obtained for little or nothing. But some of our finest families started in dugouts and makeshift homes of the poorest character, and on what was then considered very poor lands. The Federal Heights area of Salt Lake City was called Butcherville (or Slaughterville) when I was a young man due to its having a spring or two enough to furnish water for one or two primitively crude and uninspected slaughterhouses. I well remember when I first visited the upper part of the city. It must have been about 1868 or possibly earlier. There was, as I remember, nothing but sagebrush east of Tenth East and only scattered homes. That was all due to lack of water. The poor Scandinavians came in considerable numbers and they were often so frugal that any kind of a home that was their own or that did not require rent payments was sufficient. Their frugality, thrift, and industry, however, soon made comfortable homes where it was possible, and they tried even where it was not possible. Their coming constituted a real feature of the time.<sup>4</sup>

I shall never forget the poor Saints camped there who had no relatives or friends who would take them in, particularly the Scandinavians, who seemed to be the poorest. Their apparently extreme poverty appealed to my young soul most pathetically. I was just big enough to be far from home, and I wanted to help some of them, especially one woman I remember who seemed to have no man to help her. She seemed to me wretched, but went about undaunted. She could not speak English. I shall never forget the sight. When she made the fire to cook her meal I sought to help her find sticks of wood and was delighted to think I could be of service to her. She was tall and very thin and her clothes harmonized with her (I think) wooden shoes, which were not so uncommon with them. I watched the completing of the

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<sup>4</sup> Memorandum dated Jan. 1945, Box 12, fd 1. See William Mulder, "Mormonism's 'Gathering': An American Doctrine with a Difference," *Church History* 23 (Sept. 1954): 3-19; Mulder, "Through Immigrant Eyes: Utah History at the Grass Roots," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 22 (1954): 41-55; Mulder, "Mormons from Scandinavia, 1850-1900: A Shepherded Migration," *Pacific Historical Review* 23 (Aug. 1954): 227-46; Mulder, *Homeward to Zion: The Mormon Migration from Scandinavia* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1957).

cooking and eating, visiting many of a similar character, for they were scattered over the large yard.<sup>5</sup>

The number gradually decreased until there were very few, and then none until the next train or company arrived. I watched the Scandinavians especially, for they had less friends with favorable surroundings than the English, Welsh, or Scots, who so largely predominated then in Utah.<sup>6</sup>

I followed families that started in a dugout on the hillside, or in the suburbs of the city in homes made not of the dignified rough logs, but of what could be picked up—cheap boards, coal oil cans, any old thing that would afford some shelter. The same occurred on sagebrush land they found west of the Jordan. The improvement was gradually but persistently made in these dugouts and tin-can surroundings until they had a comfortable home and more frequently a farm with it. They were the personification of industry and thrift, and the wooden-shoed, poverty-stricken Scandinavians (for they were the best example of the class) were the fathers of some of our distinguished lawyers, doctors, educators, and financiers. The informed English-speaking regarded them as inferior, but their stock gradually grew in value until now and for some time these rough diamonds are not discounted at all but on the contrary by many (including myself) are regarded as being among the very best. I believe they are of the royal blood of Israel.<sup>7</sup>

### **Green Young Man from the Mountains**

That experience on the Zion end of the gathering was only one of many that led me to be willing to make any sacrifice for the Gospel. When I was eighteen, Father was asked if I could go on a mission. He did not want me taken out of school, so it was postponed until I was twenty.<sup>8</sup> So I left for my mission to North Carolina on about the first of July, 1879. I remember I was in St.

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<sup>5</sup> Undated memorandum, Box 9, fd 1. See William Mulder, "Utah's Ugly Ducklings: A Profile of the Scandinavian Immigrant," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 23 (1955): 233-59. See also undated memorandum, Box 8, fd 2.

<sup>6</sup> Undated memorandum, Box 9, fd 1. See Philip A. M. Taylor, "Why Did British Mormons Emigrate?" *Utah Historical Quarterly* 22 (1954): 249-70.

<sup>7</sup> Undated memorandum, Box 9, fd 1. See Richard L. Jensen, "The Friendly Invasion: Scandinavian Immigrants ...," *Ensign* 4 (July 1974): 46-47.

<sup>8</sup> Undated memorandum, Box 8, fd 2. Cross-reference Moyle's remembrances of his mission and college days in these chapters with his diaries in Box 1.

Louis on the Fourth. We traveled over the Union Pacific to Denver, which was then a comparatively small and young city. They were grading the capitol grounds preparatory to the erection of the State Capitol. The capitol site was far beyond the best section with very few residences nearby. We then went to Pueblo, traveling over the Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe to Kansas City. The passenger cars then had little protection for passengers outside of a railing on the outer side of the entrance, and when one went from one car to another, he took some chances because of the rough roadbed and rail connections and the light weight of the cars.<sup>9</sup>

Eastern Colorado and western Kansas were then very much of a desert wilderness except for the grass and a few trees along the streams. Many of the passengers were dressed in typical cowboy and ranch styles, but not so much like the more orderly cowboy suits of today. Many of them wore big, broadbrim hats. I remember one rough-looking, villainous character with a long, black mustache and pistols entered the train in Kansas, and I was sure he was an outlaw.

At Kansas City I was greatly surprised to see trains frequently coming and going. I think there were only four or five tracks beside a big and rickety lumber station. I was quite overawed by the number of trains and the rushing, pushy crowd.

St. Louis was the first sight of a city of any consequence. While there I found my Grandmother Moyle's sister who was married to a man named Edward Boone. She had quite a family, although I remember only three or four boys who were employed in delivering ice and working in an ice plant. Mrs. Boone was of the same heavysset type as Grandmother Moyle. She was a very wholesome-looking and substantial Englishwoman.

At that time the bridge over the Mississippi at St. Louis was considered to be a real wonder of the world. It was the first span said to be a mile long. The next most interesting and notable sight to us from the Great American Desert was Shaw's Gardens, which was then quite a distance from the city and we had to travel out to it in an electric street car. This was also a marvel. There were six of us, all green, young men from the mountains. I think I was the

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<sup>9</sup> Memorandum dated Feb. 1933, Box 9, fd 3. See Jack Goodman, "Mid-Century Crossing by Rail," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 37 (Winter 1969): 135-43.

youngest of the party though in charge of the little group. We marveled at the labyrinth made in the gardens of huge hedges, which made it difficult to get in or get out once you were in. We had never seen anything like it. The flowers, trees, and grounds were all beautiful. To us it was a veritable paradise.<sup>10</sup>

We traveled down the west bank of the Mississippi to a point opposite Columbus, Tennessee. While still on the train, I was reading when I supposed we were merely switching and then standing in the station. I happened to look out and was astonished to observe that we were on the water. The train, as was universal those days in crossing anything like the Mississippi, was being ferried across the stream. It gave me quite a sensation.

From there we went to Corinth, Mississippi, where we had to remain overnight on account of lack of train connections. We went to a hotel, but it was so hot and to us intolerably humid that we asked permission to put our beds out in the hall where we could get some ventilation. We suffered greatly with the heat and humidity.

Charley Bliss, the boldest and rashest of the group, arranged for a meeting in the courthouse and we scattered the news as well as we could until we had quite a little gathering. Charley, who was the least informed, had the most to say. In fact, he ranted so recklessly that I finally had to ask him to quit, after I had repeatedly pulled his coattails trying to caution him against rash statements. Nevertheless, we thought our amateurish meeting was not a bad beginning.

We traveled easterly for Chattanooga, Tennessee, and shortly before we arrived I was again reading on the train and was so interested that I had not observed that there was no one left in the car. It was very warm and my window was up, and when I looked out I observed people more or less excitedly pointing up and to the south. I couldn't think what was the matter because I could not see anything of special interest, but when I went out I was informed that the people from the low lands of the Mississippi Valley were gazing at the biggest mountain they had ever seen, Mount Look-

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<sup>10</sup> Memorandum dated Feb. 1933, Box 9, fd 3. See Gene A. Sessions, ed., "A View of James Henry Moyle: His Diaries and Letters," unpublished manuscript, 1974, CLA, pp. 1-2.

out, which was probably five or six hundred feet above the level. Used to the great Rockies, I thought this very amusing.

In Chattanooga we found the mission secretary at the headquarters, but not the president, John Morgan. Charley Bliss and his companion, Benjamin Harker, father of Mrs. Elbert D. Thomas, went into Alabama, and four of us went through eastern Tennessee to Withville, Virginia, where we parted, two going to Virginia, and myself and N. W. Taylor of Harrisville, Weber County, going into North Carolina. Taylor was about twenty-six or twenty-seven and had been born and partially reared in Surry County, North Carolina, and had many relatives there. We were met by two missionaries from the North Carolina Conference who took us over to Mount Airie where we stopped at the hotel.<sup>11</sup>

We had never had any experience with blacks and I was anxious to treat them right and so I carefully referred to them as "Negroes," which was very offensive. They like to be called "colored people."<sup>12</sup>

We were soon introduced to the Saints who welcomed us and were very hospitable. Henry G. Boyle, one of the most successful of our missionaries, was a native, I think, of North Carolina and a very interesting character and entertaining speaker. He had an unlimited supply of good stories and jokes with which he kept the audiences awake and preached the Gospel to them between times. Boyle had baptized several hundred people in Surry County and a portion of Stokes, and most of them had moved to the southern part of Utah County, and I think particularly Payson.

Jonas N. Beck, a man about my father's age and hard of hearing, of Newton, Cache County, and Alexander Spence of Wellsville, Cache County, were the only other missionaries in the conference. They had been out nearly two years. They labored with

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<sup>11</sup> Memorandum dated Feb. 1933, Box 9, fd 3. See Arthur M. Richardson and Nicholas G. Morgan, Sr., *The Life and Ministry of John Morgan* (Salt Lake City: Nicholas G. Morgan, Sr., Publisher, 1965), pp. 91ff, for the Morgan era of the Southern States Mission.

<sup>12</sup> Memorandum dated Feb. 1933, Box 9, fd 3. See an interesting account of Moyle's experience at an African-American camp meeting in Gene A. Sessions, "Camp Meeting at Willowtree, 1881," *Journal of American Folklore* 87 (Oct.-Nov. 1974): 361-64.

us for three or four months, introducing and giving us a start. Then they were released and I was made president of the conference.

I found that from the days of Joseph Smith missionaries had been laboring part of the time in the vicinity of Surry County, but so far as I could learn they had never labored outside of the particular locality. George Grant, brother of Jedediah, was one of the early missionaries. I was greatly surprised to find that no effort had been made to open other fields of labor in North Carolina and that nothing had been done in South Carolina. The excuse offered was that there was plenty for two missionaries to do in the section I called a “nest” of about twenty miles long and maybe ten to fifteen miles wide. It was the habit of the missionaries to stay one night in a home and it took them about a month to go around the district, there being about that number of families who were pleased to entertain them. We then traveled without purse or scrip and had comparatively little trouble in getting our meals and a place to sleep.<sup>13</sup>

#### **In Search of Henry Lindsay**

After I had been out about six weeks, I pleaded with the older missionaries to take me out into new sections of the state, and finally Brother Beck said he would go with me. We had heard that a man in Burke County named Lindsay was a member of the Church, but we did not have his address or his full name, and we started out with the determination to find him if we could.

Our first night out and after walking twelve or fifteen miles, we found a comfortable resting place in the courthouse at Dobson, the Surry County seat. We were permitted to preach in the courthouse, so we circulated the word of our meeting as best we could. Twenty-five or thirty orderly people came and at the conclusion of the meeting a man gave us a clipping out of a local newspaper about the shooting of Joseph Standing in Georgia, which was not far beyond the southwestern corner of North Carolina which was on our direct line of advance. The effect of the

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<sup>13</sup> Memorandum dated Feb. 1933, Box 9, fd 3. Actually, it was Jedediah Grant himself and his brother Joshua who established the Mormon base in Surry County in 1837-38 and again in 1839-42. See Gene A. Sessions, *Mormon Thunder: A Documentary History of Jedediah Morgan Grant* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1982), 10-31.

news seemed to stir both of us tremendously and instead of discouraging us made us more determined to go on and to keep up our attempt to carry the good work to western and southwestern North Carolina.<sup>14</sup>

The people we saw as we traveled were very poor. It was not so long after the Civil War, and there were but few bridges and many streams and rivers to ford. East of the Blue Ridge Mountains there were very few horses and it was quite unusual to meet even a horse team, or for that matter, any kind of vehicle, so that when we came to rivers, we had to ford them, and did so both winter and summer by wading and swimming.

A one-horse and a two-horse farm had very distinct meaning with these people. While corn grew in abundance, hay was as scarce as hen's teeth. Very many of the farms consequently had no draft animals on them at all. Some of them would have an old horse and the more fortunate, a cow used with the horse to do their work. Sometimes there was a pair of oxen, but where they had one good horse they were quite fortunate and were known as one-horse farmers. Two-horse farmers were regarded with special respect, and if they had more than two horses, they were getting into the rich man's class. The lands throughout the country were very hilly and difficult to plough or was covered with dense timber. Cheap land outside of the river bottoms with all kinds of fine hardwood timber on it could be had for two or three dollars an acre, but the soil was thin and where cultivated would soon wear out and wash away in the rain.<sup>15</sup>

The poverty was so extreme in many cases that the people seemed to have no hope of anything better. They seemed to make the best of it, though, and when not suffering the pangs of hunger or cold, they seemed very happy. That was especially true with the

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<sup>14</sup> Memorandum dated Feb. 1933, Box 9, fd 3. See John Nicholson, "Death of Elder Joseph Standing," in Preston Nibley, ed., *Missionary Experiences* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Co., 1954), pp. 223-47; Ken Driggs, "There is No Law in Georgia for Mormons: The Joseph Standing Murder Case in 1879," *Georgia Historical Quarterly* 73 (Winter 1989): 745-72; Gene A. Sessions, "Myth, Mormonism, and Murder in the South," *South Atlantic Quarterly* 75 (Spring 1976): 212-25.

<sup>15</sup> Memorandum dated Feb. 1933, Box 9, fd 3. For contemporary descriptions of the South during the period of Moyle's stay, see M. L. Avery, *Dixie After War* (1906); V. V. Clayton, *White and Black* (1899).

blacks. It was frequently said that if they had a bushel of corn and a slice of bacon, they were happy until it was gone. The poor blacks (and most of them were poor) were a distinct class, though the poor whites were often little better off if any.

On the hills that constituted the country generally, they were fortunate if they could get more than ten or twelve bushels of wheat to the acre. The soil would produce a fairly good crop of corn and for a year or two a good crop of tobacco. After that, they had to spend so much on fertilizer that the farmers realized very little more than a scant living.

Our food was of the simplest kind, and we rarely ever had meat of any kind, excepting pork, which was produced in great quantities. The young pigs were turned loose in the forest in the spring and they lived on roots and the acorns, hickory nuts and chestnuts, and such herbage as they could get. In the fall, they were generally very thin but with a new crop of acorns and chestnuts they would fatten. Then they were put in pens or small yards and their flesh hardened on corn. It was not an uncommon thing for the hogs to die from cholera. When a farmer had fat hogs and he found any of them not eating, he would immediately kill and sell for fear cholera would take them. There was no inspection and all that the market called for was fat stuff, and thus cholera and pneumonia were propagated.

There were, however, some articles of food that greatly relieved the monotony. One was green string beans, which were raised in abundance and lasted from early in the summer to late in the fall. They were cooked with a little bacon and constituted the most tasty and desirable food that we had, excepting chicken that was also raised in considerable quantity. It was customary for the people to give their preachers chicken, although a good many of our Church members were too poor to indulge in that kind of luxury; hence, their eggs went to market. Although our meals were almost universally obtained at farms, we seldom had milk because of the scarcity of cows.

We missionaries all enjoyed excellent health due probably to our simple food and persistent exercise. We often chopped wood and even did some hoeing to help out the good farmers who helped us.

Our only clothing, during the greater part of the year, was a

soft or straw hat, cotton duster, trousers, and a pair of shoes, with a good supply of handkerchiefs that were kept around the neck in place of a collar in the very hot weather. We did not even wear a shirt, for if we did, it would seem not fit to be seen. We very often had to do our washing in cold water. I frequently washed my clothing in the streams of water and waited for them to dry.

From Dobson we traveled southwesterly along the lower foot-hill country of the Blue Ridge and had quite an interesting experience at Wilkesboro, North Carolina, where I bore my first testimony to the divinity of the Gospel and of the divine work of Joseph Smith. I had said that I would not bear my testimony until I actually did know, and so stated in the Fifteenth Ward meeting where I spoke just before leaving for a mission. Brother Charles W. Penrose was then a member of the Fifteenth Ward and spoke after me. He said that I did have a testimony and did not realize it. At Wilkesboro we spoke in a little log school-house, not more than twelve by fifteen feet, with nothing but rude logs roughly chinked with no floor and no windows excepting wooden shutters. The benches consisted of the roughest and cheapest kind. We possibly had ten or twelve people present. I was literally forced to bear my testimony. I could not resist the impulse to do so and thus I found myself doing it apparently against my will.

In the adjoining county seat, Lenoir, we were unable to hold a meeting, so we walked on to the county seat of Burke County at Morganton, one of the oldest cities in North Carolina. It had a population of about three or four thousand and possibly more and was the big city of western North Carolina. There was no industry in the state then. Raleigh as I remember had about 15,000 people in it. Wilmington, on the coast, was the only larger city. There was but one railroad in western North Carolina and that ran from the east through Morganton to Asheville. We succeeded in getting a meeting in the county courthouse at Morganton. We were interviewed at the close of the meeting by a newspaperman from whom we learned that Henry Lindsay lived up the Catawba River about twenty miles, a short distance from Bridgewater. We experienced some hostility but no resistance.

#### **Ministry Along the Catawba**

The next day we walked to Bridgewater where we ferried

across the river in a little boat and then walked up the river bottom to the home of Henry Lindsay. This was to become our radiating point in that part of the country. He was a tall, dignified, and unusually intelligent man for that time and locality. Serving as correspondent for the paper whose reporter had interviewed us in Morganton, he was literate and well-informed. His wife was a very nice, motherly lady by whom he had a number of children. He had previously married and had one son of his deceased wife. This boy spent most of his time away from home and had lived a wild life. We were welcomed by the family and particularly by Brother Lindsay who had seen better days. I think he was a merchant but had failed in business and had taken up farming. He was a tenant but occupied a better home than a good many of the people. Paint was not in very common use at the time and his home as I remember needed painting very badly. Notwithstanding this and their big family of young children and their very limited resources, they were always ready to share what they did have with the missionaries.

Henry Lindsay told an interesting story. George Teasdale and John R. Winder had been missionaries in Tennessee. They were called the “long and short of Mormonism” because Brother Teasdale, who later became an apostle, was very tall, and John Winder, as he was called, was very short. Brother Lindsay related that he had seen a tall, dark-complexioned man and a smaller one in a dream coming to his house, and when he saw these two missionaries, he recognized them as the men he had seen in the dream and was readily converted to Mormonism and was baptized. The missionaries remained in that part of the country only a few weeks, then they moved on to Surry County, and Brother Lindsay related that he had not seen a member of the Church since. While his faith was still clear, there was some slight evidence of embarrassment in participating in carrying on our Mormon propaganda, but his faith was sufficient and he stayed with us, or more correctly, we stayed and lived with him whatever his embarrassment might have been. The result was that I finally baptized his wife and all of his children, including his oldest son Millard. He also had a daughter who subsequently became the wife of Bishop Edward Ashton of the old Fifteenth Ward. There were two other daughters who subsequently married in Salt Lake City, and a son named Brigham,

a real lump of a youngster who had been born after the father had joined the Church.

We spent about six weeks on that trip and then returned to Surry. Shortly thereafter Brothers Beck and Spence went home, leaving the two new missionaries alone, but we thought we could get along all right.

I well remember planning a trip to go to Winston-Salem and from there follow the railroad westward to Brother Lindsay's. Both my companion and I were practically out of money, but in the last home we stayed at, a widow gave me seven dollars, which was remarkable. I never needed on my entire mission as I did for that trip and the seven dollars (with the little other we had) financed us on that long trip through a section of country that was unfriendly and more inhospitable than any other I traveled through on my mission.

At Salisbury, I learned of a family of Moyles at Gold Hill, so we went there and found a very nice family of my own name from Cornwall, England, the country in which Father and their fathers were born. They had been attracted to Gold Hill originally because of gold mining there. The widow and her children were all rather superior in appearance and otherwise to those surrounding them. In 1924, when in Washington at the death of President Wilson, I discovered in the papers that one of a little group of cadets who were guarding the body of President Wilson was a very fine and attractive young man named Moyle. He proved to be one of these Gold Hill Moyles.<sup>16</sup>

We were unable to hold a meeting in Winston or anywhere on the trip to Salisbury, and we had to go to a hotel to get a bed. That was the only trip while on my mission that I rode on a railroad train and there was no other public means of travel in that part of the country. All my traveling except that was on foot. I kept a record of it and it ran into the thousands of miles.

I shall never forget one day we traveled on a muddy, slippery road in a continuous rain. James A. Barlow, my old schoolmate, was my companion. One had an oilcloth coat and the other an umbrella and the rain went through both. I never sang very much,

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<sup>16</sup> Memorandum dated Feb. 1933, Box 9, fd 3. See Sessions, "View of James Henry Moyle," pp. 4-6.

but we must have sung our hymns dozens of times during the day. Sometimes when it was very slippery and the rain very bad, we would close ranks and both get under the umbrella with our arms locked and frequently we literally skated over the red, sticky soil of North Carolina. At night we had difficulty finding a resting place. Finally a German farmer took us in, and the rain turned to a cold snow during the night. The room was extremely cold. He gave us a bed consisting of pillows and two feather beds, which were not made for men as large as Brother Barlow and myself. He was the taller and larger of the two so we had to lie spoon-fashion to keep our feet covered. When we got tired and wanted a change, we had to notify the other in order not to expose our feet. We were happy, however, and undaunted and always ready to press on. With the assistance of splendid companions, I led the way in opening up new fields of labor to such an extent that when I left the mission, there were thirteen Utah elders in the North Carolina Conference where there never before had been more than two permanently.

I baptized seventeen people in Burke County, the Lindsay family and Jasper Wise, a neighbor who lived two or three miles away and the father of a family. I also baptized William Park who had a good farm on the Catawba. He and more especially his wife were of comparatively well-to-do families. We also baptized Sister Park's sister and her husband, a young couple with two or three children. The Parks moved to Rigby, Idaho, and the other family moved to Oregon.

#### **A Wealth of Experience**

We made repeated trips from Surry County to Burke County and preached wherever opportunity presented itself. We had many unusual experiences, one of which I will relate. In Wilkes County we were unsuccessful in finding a place to stay. It was dark and about nine o'clock. Just as we were commencing to feel somewhat hopeless, we saw a light in the distance and moved in that direction. As we approached it, a man drove up in his buggy. He proved to be a Major Hampton, a member of the state legislature who was very prominent and well-to-do in the locality. After we told him who we were and what we wanted, he invited us in. We were hungry as bears, and there was a spread on the table

awaiting him. It was a splendid dinner and we helped him dispose of it, and ever after he was our faithful friend, although he did not express any desire to become a member of the Church. But he was deeply impressed with our sincerity and message.

I had one strange experience with a dream. Four missionaries were sent to me one time. I induced a friend to take me with his team over the Blue Ridge Mountains to Withville to pick them up and bring them back to Surry. On our way there at the ridge of the mountains was the little village of Hillsville. We stopped over night at the crude hotel there. In that hotel I had a dream in which I learned that we had a branch of the Church in South Carolina. I had the name of the place perfectly clear in my mind and for fear that I would forget it, I got up and tried to light the lamp or candle but could not find a match. I felt sure that I was awake, although of that I am not absolutely certain, but at all events I concluded that I was awake and that I could not forget the name of the place, because I had been so anxious to go to South Carolina and had appealed to President Morgan to let me do so. He had forbidden it because of the danger, for it was generally understood that the South Carolinians were an extremely hotheaded people who would go to the greatest extremes to expose the Church. But even with all of this, when I awoke in the morning I could not remember the place in which I felt morally certain we were going to have a branch of the Church, even though it was my understanding that the Gospel had never been preached in South Carolina.

When we arrived in Withville and picked up these four missionaries, I discovered that President Morgan, in response to my appeals, had sent them with the privilege of having two of them go into South Carolina. So I sent two of the new elders, without previous experience, to South Carolina where I was sure we were going to organize a branch of the Church. Soon after these elders had become accustomed to the new country, they started out and spent several days traveling in South Carolina with no success or apparent prospects for success, but they finally landed in a locality where there was a Baptist church. They subsequently succeeded in baptizing the preacher and a considerable number of his flock and did organize a substantial branch in fulfillment of my dream.

I had one other dream while I was on my mission which was worthy of note. I saw the buildings and more distinctly the tobacco

barns on the Tar River in eastern North Carolina where there were Latter-day Saints. I directed the mission to send two elders into that locality and advised them of my dream and that they would find and probably baptize members of the Church on the Tar River. Elmer Johnson, a native of the Fifteenth Ward, was one of the two missionaries. I do not remember the name of the other. They succeeded in baptizing two people on the Tar River and thus the work was opened up in the eastern part of the state where the Gospel had never been preached before. All the work ever done in the state previously was in the western part just east of the Blue Ridge in Surry and Stokes Counties.

Another interesting experience was when we made a trip from the home of the family of William Park to his son and daughter-in-law who were living near Charlotte on the southern edge of North Carolina. It was very warm weather and it took us several days to get there. One day we walked about thirty miles in the broiling sun and my feet were blistered, but we were happy and succeeded in holding a little meeting in Charlotte and were entertained by the young Park family. There was no door between the room in which we slept and that of the Parks. They went to bed long after we did and undoubtedly thought we were asleep, and I could hear them whispering to each other. One said, "Did you notice the light around his head as he was speaking?" They joined the Church and moved to Rigby, but returned and after, I understand, left the Church.

I had been in the mission field about a year when Charley Brain from the Twentieth Ward, and his companion challenged the preachers wherever they went to debate and had one accept. They had only been out about six months, and the preacher had been educated for the ministry and had made his living by preaching for ten years or more. Charley was frightened so he asked, on account of his inexperience, that I should take his place, I being the "experienced" preacher. It was well up in the Blue Ridge at a place not far from Mt. Pisgah in McDowell County. Charley had been a stenographer and had had some experience in reporting so he went prepared to take down what was said at the debate. When we arrived at the schoolhouse where the debate was to take place, a mob had gathered and we were informed that the preacher was not going to meet us and that we were not going to hold the

meeting. The schoolhouse was closed to us. It was in an open clearing surrounded by timber with a country road running nearby. There was quite a crowd present, so we rolled a pretty good size stone to a convenient place and I stood on it and addressed the crowd, calling their attention to the prediction of the Savior: "They will drive you from synagogue to synagogue and from city to city and will kill you." It was a singular and unique experience in which we won the sympathy and friendship of the crowd.<sup>17</sup>

I had a close scrape with a mob at a little mountain schoolhouse typical of that part of the country and surrounded by heavy timber. It was a small building with no glass or floor. It did have wooden shutters and a door and some seats made of slabs with the rough side down. We held a meeting there with only two men present and about ten women and children. Brother Barlow was speaking when we heard a great noise of men shouting and horses galloping into the clearing around the schoolhouse. They suddenly stopped riding but continued to yell and hoot. Apparently in great folly, I got up and went out to them alone and walked up to the leader who was in the front and faced him so that he could have struck me had he tried. I looked him firmly in the face and said, "We are holding a religious meeting here and you men must not disturb us." I said no more but steadily looked at him. He said nothing and looked completely amazed. I then turned and was very glad of the opportunity of returning. I had no sooner gotten into the house and sat down when they yelled again, jumped on their horses and away they went. Just as Brother Barlow finished speaking and it was my turn, they returned with more noise than ever. They tied their horses and came up to the door. I was speaking near it with the benches facing the door. I immediately and with great coolness and firmness asked the leader to come in and sit down. He faced the little group, hesitated, and finally did. Then I got the others in (probably eight or ten of them). The last one was so drunk that he laid upon the floor and went to sleep. I continued with my address, never taking my eyes off the leader. I preached to him with great earnestness. At the conclusion of the meeting he came up and offered his hand and said, "You are different from what I supposed." I do not remember the exact expression, but it

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<sup>17</sup> Memorandum dated Feb. 1933, Box 9, fd 3. See John 16:2.

was to the effect that he admired us and wanted to be a friend. He related to our friends afterwards that they were not drunk enough at first to go through with their promise to the local Baptist deacon that for a gallon of whiskey they would mob us, so they were compelled to go back, drink more, and then come back determined to do it.

Before I arrived in North Carolina, Elders Beck and Spence had been driven away from the frame schoolhouse where they had been holding meetings in Stokes County. An armed mob told them that if they returned they would be killed. Before they left the mission, I sent out notices that we would hold a meeting at that place. At the time there were not many present, because they expected trouble. As we gathered at the meetingplace the mob came out of the nearby wood. We had a member of the Church named Sister McDaniels, whose husband was not a member but a well-to-do and influential two-horse farmer, and another lady member of the Church named Witte. Her husband, Lindsay, also was not a member of the Church. He was a carpenter and rather a substantial man also. The two women and their husbands were present and the two men went out and met the mob. McDaniels, not a religious man but a Bible believer, challenged the mob and said if they disturbed us he would spend his farm if necessary to prosecute them. They had quite an excited interview that finally resulted in their leaving and our holding our meeting.

### **Epilogue to the Southern States**

During the World War when I was Assistant Secretary of the Treasury, I visited all of the South Atlantic Coast states in the interest of Liberty Loan bonds and war saving stamps. For some unknown reason I attracted more attention and interest in North Carolina than anywhere else. In Asheville all the banks in western North Carolina assembled and gave me a great banquet at the leading hotel and paid all honor to me. At Winston-Salem, the big tobacco center of the United States, we held a gathering in the county courthouse which was crowded and in which I spoke with unusual freedom. At the conclusion of the meeting, a great many came forward and sought the opportunity of shaking hands. One old man with a long, patriarchal beard without a smile looked into my face and said solemnly and deliberately, "I never expected to

see you again." He proved to be Sister Witte's husband. The crowd was pressing on and I held on to his hand with my left hand, never dreaming that he would leave me. The moment that the crowd had passed on I turned to find him and he was gone. I told the lawyer in charge how much I was interested in the man and how anxious I was to see him. They sent men out to try to find him but they could not. The next day I was entertained royally, driven around the city and to every possible place where this man could have been found, but I could learn nothing of him. He appeared and disappeared in such a mysterious way that I have almost wondered if it was all real.

On my return to Washington, I wrote President Callis of the Southern States Mission to ascertain whether there was such a person in North Carolina, but he was unable to find him. As a matter of fact, we had no elders in that locality. I have since made further inquiry, but have been unable to find the man, much as I would have appreciated doing so.<sup>18</sup>

The greatest lesson I learned on that mission was that you cannot find God by searching. It is the gift of God to know Him. You can only prepare yourself for worthiness to know Him. It comes by prayer, communion with Him, and living for it. It came to me in the woods of North Carolina when I knelt with my companion and alone in humble supplication for light, guidance, and a knowledge of Him. He often was the only friend to whom we could look or make an appeal. Religious mobs were rampant and looking for Mormon elders, believing that they could render service to their Christian God by ridding the country of our presence, and thereby save their Christian neighbors from the delusions of false prophets. It was there when in the adjoining state of Georgia, Joseph Standing, another boy missionary, was murdered because he would not heed the demand of such a mob to cease preaching the Gospel of our Savior: faith, repentance, baptism for the remission of sins, and leading a Christian and Godly life. This was just before Elder William Berry and his companions in another adjoining state, Tennessee, were likewise murdered in cold blood. We never knew where we were going to eat and did

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<sup>18</sup> Memorandum dated Feb. 1933, Box 9, fd 3. See Sessions, "View of James Henry Moyle," pp. 40-41.

not know where we would sleep at night. We were traveling among people who were universally religious and naturally hospitable, but we suffered from a prejudice and hatred that is now almost inconceivable. Additionally, homes were scarce, woods abounded, and travel was rare on the lonesome roads. We sometimes traveled on foot in the broiling of the sun of North Carolina for thirty miles in one day simply to find a single friend. Frequently, we made a meal of wild strawberries, or of hazelnuts growing in the forest, and once on uncooked field corn in the milky stage; one large ear tasted good, but my stomach rebelled against the next.<sup>19</sup>

Such were the conditions under which I labored for nearly twenty-eight months, most of the time in the backwoods of the Blue Ridge Mountains and the hill country east of them. Most of the folks lived in crude log cabins, sometimes with neither glass windows nor floors other than mother earth. We frequently preached in schoolhouses with no windows, except wooden shutters on hinges. There were no floors in them either and the benches were made of slabs with the sawed side up and supported only by strong posts fitted into auger holes in the slabs. We slept in homes of good, intelligent people where a family of five or six lived in a single room, with the chinking only sufficient to keep the cold wind out. I was proud to baptize one such family of excellent people who are now numbered among the finest citizens of Salem, Oregon. Remember, 1879 was only fourteen years after the Civil War and poverty prevailed, even among people who had been slaveowners, and landholders. Tenants were barely able to pay rent of any consequence. I met strong young men who worked for sixty dollars a year with board. It was common for women to wash all day, scrubbing with their hands, for twenty-five cents. There were few horses in North Carolina, though on the west side of the Blue Ridge they were more abundant. There was no bluegrass on the east side and very little limestone, which was quite different from Tennessee and Kentucky. That was one reason why we very rarely rode horses. Railroads were also scarce, and I only rode once on a train. It was the only one in western North Carolina, and many people there had never seen an iron horse.

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<sup>19</sup> Undated memorandum, Box 8, fd 3. See Marshall Wingfield, "Tennessee's Mormon Massacre," *Tennessee Historical Quarterly* 17 (Mar. 1958): 1-35.

It was under such humble and sometimes dangerous conditions that I was brought into such a spiritual status and nearness to Deity that I received a testimony of the existence of God and His Work that I believe nothing could remove. If it had not been such I am not sure that I could have remained steadfast in the face of political trials which I went through in the 1890s and early years of this century. Beyond the shadow of a doubt, I would have been governor of Utah and United States Senator but for the opposition of Church leaders, and what we called "Church influence." I deeply regret to say that if I am to be frank, much of it still exists. I have consistently stated my position on politics, and as with religion, I never have and do not expect ever to deviate from that position. This I say in the face of the fact that I am completely and perfectly satisfied that divine inspiration continues to guide in all the fundamentals of the great latter-day work of the Church of Jesus Christ and that it will go on triumphantly. It, however, is now going through its greatest test of endurance, greater than poverty, mob violence, the burning of homes, the confiscating and robberies of homes and all earthly possessions, and even the meeting and suffering of death by the leaders and fathers, and greater than being driven from civilization. The present test is that of wealth, prosperity in material things, and perhaps the most dangerous of all, popularity.<sup>20</sup>

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<sup>20</sup> Undated memorandum, Box 8, fd 3.



## *Chapter 4*

# STUDENT

After returning from my mission, I went to Deseret University in the spring. I then went to work on the Temple Block, and before September 1 had saved \$500 for law school. Father would do the rest. But I had other problems to overcome.<sup>1</sup>

### **The Legal Profession in Utah**

Prominent young Mormons who had studied law in the East, or at least who went east before 1882, were Alfaes Young (University of Michigan), a son of Brigham who later left the Church; LeGrand Young, son of Dr. Seymour B. Young and a nephew of Brigham;<sup>2</sup> and Bruce Taylor, a son of President John Taylor. Bruce also left the Church and moved to the Northwest. Zera Snow, son of Judge Zerubbabel Snow, also left the Church and the territory at about the same time Taylor did. Neither of them was still in Utah by 1885, but I do not know when they left. Joseph L. Rawlins, son of Bishop Joseph S. Rawlins of South Cottonwood, studied in the East but not law, even though he became a practicing lawyer. He also left the Church. Parley L. Williams was of Mormon parentage but claimed never to have been baptized. He was always bitterly

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<sup>1</sup> Memorandum dated Aug. 1943, Box 10, fd 2; James Henry Moyle Collection, Library-Archives, Historical Department, Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City, hereinafter cited as CLA. All references hereinafter to box and folder (fd) are for items from this collection.

<sup>2</sup> Memorandum dated Mar. 1942, Box 9, fd 5. LeGrand Young was actually the son of Joseph Young and the brother of Seymour B. Young.

anti-Mormon in my time. LeGrand Young and Franklin S. Richards were the only two active leading Mormon lawyers in Salt Lake City in 1885. Consequently, both served as Church attorney.

Other Mormons practicing law in the city in 1885 were Aurelius Miner, Scipio Africanus Kenner, and Sidney Darke. Miner was not very active in his practice because he was a polygamist and was thus disqualified. Kenner was a man of natural brilliance. He had picked up law on the side somehow, and he also did some newspaper work sometimes. He was clever and could have gone further but he drank too much. Darke's office was in the rear of Swanner's Jewelry Store on Main Street. He also picked up the profession on the side, and like Kenner practiced chiefly in the police court as well as probate and justice's courts. The judges there were often not even lawyers themselves.

Don Carlos Young, another of Brigham's sons, was the only Mormon I knew of going away to study a profession other than law, except for Willard and Feramorz Young who went to the military academies. West Point and Annapolis were privileges reserved for the bluebloods. I was a Fifteenth Ward clodhopper whose lowly status would not justify an attempt to receive an appointment to one of the academies. Furthermore, an environment existed then so different from that of today that it is now difficult to understand its negative influence on education. For example, in response to my persistence in getting an education, Bishop Pollard said to me, "Jimmy, you are a good boy, but these educated men are damned rascals."

### **My Revolutionary Action**

On August 20, 1882, when I asked to be released from my stake activities to go east to study law, Angus M. Cannon, president of the Salt Lake Stake and brother of George Q. (the leading intellectual of the Church), said to me in an outburst of protest while striking his fist violently on the counter of the county recorder's office, "You will go to Hell!" He was an intelligent, leading citizen and churchman, but he was sometimes intemperate as he was on this occasion. Some years after my return from school he publicly apologized, and still later wanted me to take his son, John M., into my office and teach him the law.

lived, for my family was of humble surroundings. But more important was the fact that it was a violation of religious duty to go to law with a brother. It was in the environment that Bishop Pollard and President Cannon lived; it was a simple life, not complicated as it is now.<sup>3</sup>

In justice to Angus M. Cannon, my proposal was to him like dashing cold water in his face out of a clear sky. But as he cooled off and as we talked about the matter more deliberately and I unfolded to him the service I hoped to render with the advantage to myself, he moderated, softened, and advised that I see President Taylor. Understandably, however, I was so shaken by his prophecy that I would go to Hell that I immediately walked up the block to see Bishop Robert T. Burton, whom I highly regarded as I had previously regarded Angus M. The effect of the experience was that I quickly determined that I would make President Cannon's prophecy a false one.<sup>4</sup>

Bishop Burton suggested that I see President Cannon's brother, George Q., the leading intellectual in the Church leadership. The latter insisted in turn that I talk to President Taylor himself. My only direct contact with President Taylor was on this occasion. I presented to him my plans, but President Taylor was behind the times, for he said that being a lawyer was a dangerous calling. He was logical in his reasoning from the basis of the Church's attitude on its members going to law with each other and the fact that lawyers would take either side of a controversy. His experience and that of the Church was that lawyers had been a source of great wrongs and injustice, as well as advantage to the right and justice, and therefore the profession was dangerous in that an attorney occupied a place of great power in promoting both the good and the bad.

President Taylor and our people generally were not familiar with the ethics and high ideals that college law students have instilled in them by their teachers and the leaders of the legal profession. The history and philosophy of the law and the legal profession that have so much to do with its administration were and are the exact opposite of what the ordinary layman and

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<sup>3</sup> Memorandum dated Mar. 1942, Box 9, fd 5.

<sup>4</sup> Undated memorandum, Box 8, fd 5.

especially a frontier people believed the practice of the law was. No other profession has or can have higher or nobler conceptions. The study of the law and its history and that of the part which an honorable lawyer takes in its administration constitutes a trust and responsibility of the highest order and inspires a loyalty such as no other profession equals.<sup>5</sup>

After some discussion, President Taylor acquiesced and agreed to bless me in my decision, and with President Cannon assisting, he laid his hands upon my head and gave me the following blessing:

Brother Moyle, in the name of the Lord Jesus Christ, and by the virtue of the Holy Priesthood, we lay our hands upon thy head to seal upon thee a blessing, upon certain conditions which thou hast thyself proposed to attend to.

As thou has had in thine heart a desire to go forth to study law in order that thou mayest become proficient therein, we say unto thee that this is a dangerous profession, one that leads many people down to destruction; yet if you wilt with clean hands and a pure heart, fearing God and working righteousness, and with a desire to maintain the truth and to defend the rights of the Church and Kingdom of God on the earth;—if thou wilt abstain from arguing falsely and on false principles maintaining only the things that can be honorably sustained by honorable men, if thou wilt dedicate thyself unto God every day and ask for His blessing and guidance, the Lord God will bless thee in this calling; and thou shalt be blessed with wisdom and intelligence, and with the light of revelation, and thou shalt be an instrument in the hands of God to assist, to protect the rights and liberties and immunities of His people. But if thou doest not these things thou wilt go down and wither away. We therefore set thee apart on the conditions that have been mentioned and say unto thee that if thou wilt go forth as an Elder of Israel, as a servant of the Living God, holding the Holy Priesthood; if thou wilt maintain thine integrity and be true to Israel God will bless thee and thou shalt be known in Israel as an honorable man and thou shalt grow up in virtue, in intelligence, in power, in wisdom, and stand as a mighty man among the house of Israel and be a defender of the principles of eternal truth and of the rights and liberties and immunities of the people of God.

We set thee apart on these conditions and under these circum-

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<sup>5</sup> Memorandum dated Apr.-May 1943, Box 9, fd 7.

stances, to go forth as thou hast desired to study and become acquainted with all the principles of law and equity. And we say unto thee: if thou wilt abstain from chicanery and from fraud and from covetousness and if thou wilt cleave to the truth, God will bless thee, and we bless thee, and seal upon thy head the blessings pronounced upon thee in the name of Jesus Christ, Amen.<sup>6</sup>

It was because of a lack of knowledge and in the face of a profound belief and practice of the Latter-day Saints that it was wrong to go to law with a brother that the Brethren very generally believed that “lawyer” and “liar” were synonyms as a rule and that a truthful, strictly honest lawyer was a rare exception.

The foregoing is presented in justice to President Taylor and the Church leaders who believed in the strictest code of honesty and knew but little about the ethics of the educated lawyer. So far as I can recall there were very few college-trained lawyers in the Church when I was admitted to the bar in 1885—Aurelius Miner, LeGrand Young, Henry H. Rolapp. Rolapp graduated a year before I did, LeGrand a few years before that, and Aurelius Miner before he came to Utah. There were several Church lawyers who were admitted to the bar and actively practicing who had acquired their knowledge of the law at home. Among them was my benefactor, Franklin Snyder Richards, in whose office in Salt Lake City I commenced the practice and soon became his partner in the firm of Richards and Moyle. He was a very good lawyer—city attorney and Church attorney, frequently appearing in the Supreme Court of the United States. Samuel R. Thurman was an active young lawyer in Provo, and possibly Nathan Tanner in Ogden.<sup>7</sup>

As I look back over the years and survey the changes that have taken place and the extremes with which our boys have taken to the legal profession (for I am sure there are more of them to our population than in any other community) I reached the conclusion that I would like to have at least one son a lawyer, but that a better field for usefulness now is in the field in industry. The legal profession has become so numerous that comparatively few excel in it. Its professional standard is greatly lowered, and

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<sup>6</sup> Transcript dated 30 Aug. 1882, Box 6, fd 7.

<sup>7</sup> Memorandum dated Apr.-May 1943, Box 9, fd 7.

many regard it only as a means of making a living without hard work and appearing on a work day in the apparel of a gentleman of leisure or wealth. Such was not the conceptions of lawyers, even those whom our people thought unworthy of commendation. When I was a boy, I found they generally had very high ideals. There always were shysters and mercenary lawyers, but that was not the general tenor of their characters. In my youth a lawyer who advertised or solicited employment was not respected by his fellow lawyers. However, I left my boys to choose their own callings, hoping they would follow their natural bent. Success in the law is largely measured by the love and respect one has for it. Such also is the case with judges in the law. It is a sad fact that too many of our judges are not paid for the services of a real lawyer, and occupy the position because the small salaries paid are more than they could earn in their professional practice. There are notable exceptions, and some lawyers who are unable to make money in the practice of their profession make successful judges. But carpenters are paid more.<sup>8</sup>

#### **Ann Arbor and George Sutherland**

I arrived at law school with three certificates from President John R. Park for college work accomplished in the Deseret University (the doctor made all he could of it), and provisions for a three-year residence in a great American university. I entered a new world with the aroma of the sagebrush still in my nostrils and a solemn resolve that my ambitions could only be realized by never-ending devotion to hard work, for I had determined to do five years of work in three years. The door was wide open even for me in the greatest center of learning west of the Atlantic, the University of Michigan at Ann Arbor.<sup>9</sup>

In all events, I went to the University with a good record behind me, except that I had not done much socially. There was no young lady in my life in any way attached to me. I regret that very much. The experience would have helped me in the wider field greatly. That lack handicapped me in Ann Arbor and I

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<sup>8</sup> Undated memorandum, Box 8, fd 4.

<sup>9</sup> Undated memorandum, Box 9, fd 2.

realized it, but I was determined to overcome my still lingering weakness.<sup>10</sup>

I have always thought, and I believe now, that the first man to whom I spoke in Ann Arbor was George Sutherland. My memory is that I was sitting in the small lobby of Cook's Hotel, which, by the way, was the leading hotel of consequence in the city. The fraternity houses were numerous and fine but only for the rich. As I sat there a man whom I thought had just registered came from the clerk's desk into the center of the room. For some reason, I liked his appearance. There was that about him that seemed familiar to me, almost as if I had seen him before. So I walked over and introduced myself to him and to my delight found he was from Utah. The meeting was so agreeable that we went out together to search for a room.<sup>11</sup>

We found the Henderson house only two or three blocks away and on the road toward the university. It was a nice, good-sized, well-built, and well-kept wooden structure, and the house of a well-known family. In addition to the father and mother, a son and his wife lived there. He owned and operated a shoe store. This Mrs. Henderson, a stout but dignified woman, met us at the door and said she had two nice rooms to rent at the head of the stairs. One of her first questions was, "Where are you from?" Utah, of course. Then the unfailing next was, "Are you Mormons?" I said, "Yes," and George said, "No." She was set back some with my answer, but recovered herself soon. She afterwards indicated that she thought we looked like nice young men anyway, and did not turn us down when we concluded we wanted to stay.

She came to like us both, and I made a hit with her by going

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<sup>10</sup> Memorandum dated May 1944, Box 10, fd 6.

<sup>11</sup> Memorandum dated Sept. 1945, Box 13, fd 1. See Joel Francis Paschal, Jr., *Justice Sutherland: A Man Against the State* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1951). Concerned primarily with Sutherland's actions and philosophies as a member of the U.S. Supreme Court, Paschal says little about either Sutherland's Mormon/Utah background or his education at Ann Arbor. There is no mention of Moyle in the Paschal book. Incidentally, although as Moyle indicates Sutherland never admitted any affiliation with Mormonism, Leonard Arrington maintains that a certificate in the LDS church archives proves that the justice was ordained a deacon in the church's Aaronic priesthood.

with her to her Congregational Church. The old gentleman was not so much of a churchgoer. He was more of a politician, though not prominent as such. I had some talks with her on religion and we came to be the best of friends.

I stayed there two years, but George left in six months, in March I think, which was then the end of the law school year. I entered the law school the next year when the regular school year was extended into June.

Sutherland was fine and clean-cut in appearance, with fine morals, intellect, and industry. He was blessed with a logical, legal mind. It was logical and natural for him to find and hold eventually a seat on the highest court of the land, and to distinguish himself there as a great constitutional lawyer. His elevation to the Supreme Court from the United States Senate when it occurred was due to his intimacy there with Senator (and later President) Warren G. Harding who gave him the appointment.

George and I were very different, especially in religion and politics. We had no differences in anything else. His parents came to Utah as Mormon converts. His father drifted into the Titic Mining District and read law (I presume) and became justice of the peace and a lawyer. Thus George read law and was admitted to advance standing and the senior class in the University of Michigan and graduated in six months.<sup>12</sup>

George and I encouraged each other in our studies. He would have been invaluable to me if I had been studying law at the time, but we indulged often in arguments that became very heated both as to religion and politics. I was a Mormon; he was not. He was evidently Republican; I was (if possible) more so Democratic. But the really fiercest fight we ever had was in bed one night over his charging Brigham Young and Church leaders with being responsible for the Mountain Meadows Massacre, the most violently unfortunate event in Utah's early history. Neither of us knew much about it, but George had had a full dose of anti-Mormon stories as his father had left the Church. George had attended the Brigham Young Academy at Provo and was naturally fair-minded or I think we would have gotten out of bed and fought the issue to a finish. I think

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<sup>12</sup> Memorandum dated Sept. 1945, Box 13, fd 1. See also memorandum dated Aug. 1943, Box 10, fd 2.

George would have gotten the worst of it, because I was stronger and very athletic. We were about the same height, but I was a bit heavier. As it was we came near to blows anyway, each believing he had the story straight, and each maintaining his grounds.<sup>13</sup>

I was perfectly satisfied then as now of Brigham Young's innocence in the matter. My father was intimate with John R. Haslam, Brigham Young's storekeeper. He had charge of the store kept for the family of Brigham Young which was located in the rear of the Beehive House. Well, Haslam often repeated the story that when Brigham Young did learn that there was danger of a massacre he sent him immediately to John D. Lee and others urging and directing that the emigrants not be disturbed and be permitted to pass through the country unmolested. My father was as bitterly opposed to the massacre as a man could be, and would have disclosed his doubts if there had been any about Brigham Young's innocence. The fact was that some of the emigrants had outraged the feelings of the settlers and the Indians with their statements and conduct as related in Utah history. This, together with the cupidity of the Indians (and possibly some of the whites), led to the horrible tragedy. Some believed that the emigrants had even poisoned springs.<sup>14</sup>

George, on the other hand, had imbibed the anti-Mormon attitude on the subject that I could not tolerate. President Grant was later surprised with my version of George's attitude, for in Provo he had always been moderate, because he, of course, wanted to live there and do business with the Mormons. But when you sleep with a man six months and eat with him, there is not much that does not come to the surface. George knew our people and much of their merits and he was always inclined to be decent to Mormons, but he was not at all sympathetic with their leaders. He got much of this from his father who I am sure was a real "Liberal" and anti- rather than pro-Mormon.<sup>15</sup>

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<sup>13</sup> Memorandum dated Aug. 1943, Box 10, fd 2. See Juanita Brooks, *The Mountain Meadows Massacre* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1950); Ray W. Irwin, "The Mountain Meadows Massacre," *Arkansas Historical Quarterly* 9 (Spring 1950): 1-32.

<sup>14</sup> Memorandum dated Aug. 1943, Box 13, fd 1. See also memorandum dated Sept. 1945, Box 13, fd 1.

<sup>15</sup> Memorandum dated Sept. 1945, Box 13, fd 1. "Liberal" in this case means a

The thing that probably kept us from fighting was that George was impressed with my physical superiority, inasmuch as I was asked (and he was not) to be on the university heavyweight pulling team. I was also distinguishing myself physically in another sport between the classes which was not football, for that required too much time for training, but it was similar in that a football was tossed up in the air in front of both classes and the winner carried the ball the greatest distance. I was good in both. In those contests my head was bruised, some shirts torn off, and actual damage done to my limbs. They were really no more than mass brawls. Rushing was common, which was also a barbaric practice that occurred not only on the campus between classes, but at other places, notably the post office, where conglomerate crowds gathered. On one occasion, a lumber partition in the post office was badly damaged.

The physical contests between classes were fierce. I well remember one in which we marched through the streets boisterously until the police tried to stop us. We ignored them, taking the law into our own hands. Finally, we equipped ourselves with the pickets from a fence we passed, destroying many of them by pulling and breaking them off. When that operation was over we cooled off and wiser heads secured an end of hostilities, and we dispersed. Well, George did not engage in these brutalities, but I was in the thickest of it; George knew I was not inclined to avoid a fight.

That period included another real barbarity, now fortunately nearly forgotten—college hazing. It really meant vicious things in those days. In Ann Arbor it was not rare for a gang to enter a student's room and take him forcibly and if need be violently to some place like Ypsilanti miles away in the dead of night, and let him walk back. They might duck him severely in water, embarrass him by undressing him, or even by beating him brutally and doing the last thing you would think college men would do.

#### **A Mormon Among Mormons**

All that was very new to us, though we were from the "wild and woolly West." We had heard stories that made George very fearful, because he thought I would be hazed without doubt to the

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member of the anti-Mormon political party in Utah, or a subscriber to its principles.

embarrassment of both of us, because he could not induce me to cease talking Mormonism. The newspapers were filled with anti-Mormon stuff, mostly against polygamy. At that time, Mormon polygamists were going to the penitentiary almost daily. There was real excitement over the matter; the clergy was extremely active in the crusade.<sup>16</sup> But my entire life until statehood was one of protest against the ills of prejudice, misunderstanding, and persecution. Rather than stop discussing Mormonism, I decided to resist any hazing and prepared for it by carrying heavy hickory canes I fully determined to use if attacked. The barbarity, however, was fast disappearing by then.<sup>17</sup>

George and I sat together one time in the Ann Arbor Opera House joined together in a political campaign meeting in which the very prominent Congressman Hoar of Michigan was the speaker. Among other rash things, he related a conversation with George Q. Cannon, the delegate from Utah at the time and one of the heads of the Church. Then he said in his most vehement way, "Constitution or no Constitution, Mormonism will be crushed or destroyed." I do not now remember anything else he said, but my blood literally boiled. George was quiet, but his mind was too fair and legal to endorse that kind of rhetoric.

I did not go out of the way to defend or promote Mormonism, neither did I shrink from the duty as I saw it to defend it when it was attacked, and I was very frequently questioned about it. In the place of surrendering or lowering my standard, I purchased two of the best substantial walking canes that I placed where most conveniently available, and I assured George that nothing could prevent a real fight if there was any opportunity for it. George, for one, was satisfied that I could and would fight. As it turned out I never had to use those canes. Conversely, I made many friends by defending my unpopular people. This was never better illustrated than in my last year in Ann Arbor when I defended the Church in the Webster Debating Society as a candidate for its presidency and won the election because of my defense.

Ferguson "Ferg" Ferguson came along several weeks after Suth-

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<sup>16</sup> Memorandum dated Sept. 1945, Box 13, fd 1. See Orma Linford, "The Mormons and the Law: The Polygamy Cases," Ph.D. diss., University of Wisconsin, 1964.

<sup>17</sup> Memorandum dated May 1943, Box 10, fd 1.

erland and I arrived. He was bright and apparently well-equipped naturally. I think, in fact, that he really was gifted and could have gotten anywhere if he had valued my motto, that work will get you anywhere, and idleness nowhere worthwhile. He was very agreeable—anyone could get along with him. He was very naturally sociable and engaging. He consequently formed kindred associates who spent too much time in the pool rooms and beer halls. He could carry more beer than the next man and he reported occasionally that he had been out till after midnight and left the other boys under the table, but that he did not drink too much. He was too much of a jolly good fellow to be a good student or lawyer. He even ran out of friends before the short school year was over and went home, notwithstanding the fact that he got along fairly well without studying much, especially at first. But as time went on, he had more trouble and found fault with his teachers' lessons. He really had some good ideas and I felt what a shame it was that he had it all over me in only needing to study a little to get along very well.

My bank account was meager but I loaned Ferg a substantial part of his fare home and went without some in consequence of it, but I always liked him. His father was a bright, self-made lawyer. I am not sure that he was admitted to the bar. He (the father) was a Mormon and had two families. Ferg paid no attention to religion, but was really a fine fellow and naturally a popular character. He became county clerk of Salt Lake County in the 1890s under the Liberal Party regime. He married one of our brightest and leading young ladies, Jeannette Sharp, daughter of Bishop John Sharp. He left a bright, fine young family when he died. He was loved, I am sure, by those who knew him years since because of his many splendid qualities. Miss Sharp and her father visited him in Ann Arbor. It was easy to see that she loved him, for he was easy to love. His virtues were many, but his life is the best example I have ever known of how little may be accomplished by one most richly endowed by nature. Nevertheless, Ferguson was always a gentleman, never a bum or degenerate, and did not become a drunkard, though I think he always drank.<sup>18</sup>

I had determined after President Taylor's blessing to avoid

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<sup>18</sup> Memorandum dated Sept. 1945, Box 13, fd 1.

every semblance of taking the wrong course in life. That should modify some of the condemnation I deserve for my puritanical frame of mind in dealing with Henry H. Rolapp's dereliction in falling with the boys in Michigan whom I would not. I had determined to shun the appearance of evil or any of the avenues to it.<sup>19</sup> Ironically, I was given greater attention and just as friendly consideration as that conferred upon Rolapp, George Sutherland, Waldemar Van Cott, David Evans, and H. S. Laney, all of Mormon origin but not professing to be Mormons. This was true notwithstanding the fact that all of the gentlemen named were excellent students, and were recognized as men of promise. The last one, Laney, made an extreme effort to have it known that he was not a Mormon, although his father was a member of the Church in Missouri and his people had suffered at the Haun's Mill massacre. His effort to disabuse all of his connections with the Church, however, did not promote his popularity, although he otherwise bore a good name.

#### **In Defense of Mormonism**

In the law school there were held each year a moot Congress and a political convention for the nomination of presidential officers. In these I was recognized as a leader, for my missionary work had better equipped me than most for delivering addresses and taking part in discussions. The university also provided the law school with rooms in the University Building for two debating clubs, the Webster and the Jeffersonian. The former was the older and more prominent, and I became a member of the same. It was customary to elect a senior at the beginning of each school year president of the club, and my friends urged me to run. The custom was to have a discussion at each weekly meeting in which two led on each side in a debate, followed by a general debate. The night before the election the subject was changed at the instigation of my opponents to the subject of "Mormonism and Polygamy" for the sole purpose of embarrassing me and my candidacy, for they knew that I would meet such issues without hesitance.

On the night of the debate, and at the conclusion of the

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<sup>19</sup> Undated memorandum, Box 8, fd 5. See diary entries dated 8 Mar., 26-27 Mar., 29 Mar. 1884, Box 1, fd 3.

opening debate, a member called the name of Moyle, knowing that I would respond, which I did. I believe I then gave the best address I had ever delivered. I appeared at exceptional advantage because a man named Summers, a clever student who had studied for the ministry and who soon after graduation became district attorney in Illinois, asked plying questions that I was completely accustomed to meeting on my mission, and for which I had very pertinent answers. I won my points handily and to the very great discomfort of my antagonists. This naturally resulted in the stock of James H. Moyle being greatly increased, and I was so respected for my courage in defending the most unpopular people in the country that I was elected with a good majority. Attorney W. R. Hutchinson of Salt Lake City was the candidate of the Ohio students. But the result of that meeting made him a life-long friend. A fellow who later became a prominent railroad lawyer in Milwaukee voiced the sentiments of many when he said that he was very much prejudiced against the Mormons, but that anyone who would stand up for them, and acquit himself as I did, commanded his admiration. He added that he felt to vote against me would be to submit to the charge of being narrow, if not bigoted.

In the moot Congress and national conventions, the students were divided into local groups. Those coming from west of the Mississippi River were known as the trans-Mississippi boys, and constituted the largest single unit. Illinois, Indiana, Ohio, and Michigan each constituted a separate unit, and had many students in this school. The states from the East and South combined constituted another. I was always the favorite candidate of the trans-Mississippi boys for the highest honors, and when it came to electing class officers, I was their candidate for president of the class, an honor regarded as the highest distinction in the university. I proved to be the most popular candidate of the several divisions, so much that they were unable to make a combination against me in favor of any one of the candidates of the respective divisions. This resulted in a deadlock. I was finally defeated on the thirty-ninth ballot by the introduction of a dark horse. A history is kept of the class organization, and many of those who voted against me said that if I would accept any other

office, they would support me, but they did not want a Mormon to be president of the class.<sup>20</sup>

### **The Democratic National Convention of 1884**

In keeping with my father's desire that I get a political education,<sup>21</sup> he arranged for me to go to the Democratic National Convention in Chicago during the summer of 1884 as a correspondent of the *Salt Lake Herald*. I witnessed every second of that convention and during the adjournments between sessions spent all my time in the headquarters of the presidential candidates. The most exciting events in the convention were the fierce and vicious attacks of Tammany Hall, then all-powerful in New York Democratic state politics and in New York City. It attacked Grover Cleveland under the leadership of Boss Kelly and on the floor of the convention through its eloquent and fiery Irish orators. Nevertheless, I will never forget the final speaker in favor of Cleveland who brought the jammed convention into an uproarious, unbounded, clapping, shouting, feet-stamping, flag-waving riot by his closing sentence: "We love him for the enemies he has made."<sup>22</sup>

Utah's theocratic democracy, from its inception to its dissolution with the Peoples Party in 1891, elected, as all territories did, a delegate to Congress. And with absolute uniformity, the delegate from Utah sat on the Democratic side of the House of Representatives, and there was never the slightest agitation in the Peoples Party for its delegates to sit on the Republican side. Even the two or three ex-Whigs among the leaders did not in their hearts want the delegate to sit with the Republicans or to cohabit with the carpetbag federal officials of the territory either in Washington or in Utah. If the delegate had done so, his defeat in the next election would have been certain. When I went to the University of Michigan in 1882, and particularly when I entered the law school in 1883 where politics were rampant, I was at once one of its most enthusiastic Democrats, with Democracy born and bred in me as fully as in

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<sup>20</sup> Memorandum dated Mar. 1932, Box 9, fd 3.

<sup>21</sup> See James Moyle to James Henry Moyle, 25 Dec. 1882, Box 3, fd 1; Gene A. Sessions, ed., "Biographies and Reminiscences from the James Henry Moyle Collection," unpublished manuscript, CLA, sec. 14, letter 5.

<sup>22</sup> Memorandum dated Feb.-Apr. 1944, Box 10, fd 6. See James H. Moyle, "Tammany Hall," *The Contributor*, Oct. 1884, 35-39.

any. That enthusiasm was exhibited by my being one of a very few students who attended the Democratic state convention held in Detroit in 1884, and so great was my exhibition of enthusiasm that I was invited by the co-chairman with his headquarters in Ann Arbor to be a speaker in the campaign. My breeding was solely in the Democratic atmosphere of Utah years before an organized "Sagebrush Democracy," and I was typical of young Mormons who gave any thought to politics. Democracy was practically universal among them. I did not know in those days of a solitary Mormon boy who was Republican, except Frank J. Cannon who had to run away from home to get it in San Francisco where he worked on the *Chronicle*, a Republican paper. And even he ultimately became a Democrat here at home. I was a typical Mormon Democrat, so I not only availed myself of the first opportunity to attend a Democratic national convention, but I spent every second of the duration of the 1884 convention in Chicago that first nominated Cleveland just sixty years ago. And there was no one in that convention who took a deeper interest in it. I spent every evening until midnight in the headquarters of the candidates, and especially at that of the man who was dubbed the "noblest Roman of them all," Allen G. Thurman, the common man of Ohio who was bitterly opposed by wealth and the privileged class. Mighty, rousing, and fiery meetings were held in his headquarters,<sup>23</sup> the scene of the greatest activity. There was more or less continuous oratory there every evening until a late hour due to which I spent more time there than anywhere else. It was the most exciting of all. It was claimed and proclaimed excitedly that Thurman was the choicest idol of Democracy and with the common people and that nothing but money could stop him.

Ben Butler was the most colorful of all the exhibitions both on the streets and in the convention. His presence on the street from hotel or headquarters to the convention was always announced by a brass band and shouting mob, and his entry into the convention hall was equally boisterous. Ben's history was colorful and successful. Samuel Tilden started his legal career in Butler's office.

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<sup>23</sup> Memorandum dated May 1944, Box 10, fd 6. See Mark W. Cannon, "The Mormon Issue in Congress, 1872-1882, Drawing on the Experience of Territorial Delegate George Q. Cannon," Ph.D. diss., Harvard University, 1960.

The 1884 Democratic Convention was so fierce and exciting to me who had never heard of serious internal opposition in the Peoples Party at home or in the Liberal Party, so far as intra-party matters were concerned. The N. V. Jones vs. A. M. Cannon flare-up was the first I had heard of in Salt Lake.<sup>24</sup> When sixteen, I had attended the second precinct Peoples Party political primary, which was a rare thing for a boy then. The senior brethren then ran such things, or in other words, the ruling members of the priesthood—stake presidency, high council, and bishops. But I was greatly interested.<sup>25</sup>

Thurman was very popular with the average man of his state and I gained the impression he was a really splendid Democratic character and would make a fine President of the common man. I think our Judge S. R. Thurman was remotely related. There were other candidates, but the three (Cleveland, Thurman, and Butler) attracted my attention. My impression of Ben Butler was that he was a fine and able lawyer, but wealthy and loud, though I do not recall his speaking, nor that of Thurman. Thurman was popular, but not with the wealthy class, and Butler was not a very serious contender though popular. The story of his appropriating to himself in early days “silver spoons” used at some banquet was given damaging publicity.<sup>26</sup>

After I returned from Chicago I became very active and prominent in the 1884 college politics at the university. It was then that I was made president of the Webster Debating Society of the law school and was candidate for senior class president as the candidate of the trans-Mississippi law students. I had led the riot

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<sup>24</sup> Memorandum dated Feb.-Apr. 1944, Box 19, fd 6. The “Jones-Cannon flare up” probably refers to some verbal altercation between the two molluscan leaders of the People’s Party, which was unusual because of the ecclesiastical nature of the party leadership. Moyle has already provided some idea of Cannon’s fiery nature in this chapter. Nathaniel V. Jones, for his part, was arrested and tried several times for physical assault. See *Journal History of the Church*, CLA, 10 Jan. 1870, p. 1; 3 Mar. 1870, p. 2; 14 Aug. 1874, p. 1; 17 Aug. 1874, p. 1; 19 Aug. 1874, p. 4; 1 Sept. 1874, p. 1; 3 Sept. 1874, p. 1.

<sup>25</sup> Memorandum dated Dec. 1944, Box 1, fd 4.

<sup>26</sup> Memorandum dated Feb.-Apr. 1944, Box 10, fd 6. See Moyle’s diary account of his experience in Chicago, July 1884, Box 1, fd 3; Gene A. Sessions, ed., “A View of James Henry Moyle: His Diaries and Letters,” unpublished manuscript, 1974, CLA, pp. 18-25.

that ensued when the Republican law students in the parade in honor of Blaine when he visited Ann Arbor carried a banner at their head saying "The law students solid for Blaine." I was the first to get a hold of it and pull it down; then followed the brawl, which resulted in tearing the banner to pieces with torn clothing and all but broken bones. There were plenty of bruises and fisticuffs.<sup>27</sup>

### Home Stretch

But with all this excitement I did not forget my primary purpose in Michigan. In the spring of 1885, I managed to graduate from law school, but it had not been easy mentally or physically. I am much freer now from aches and pains than I was then. In fact I am practically free from the bilious headaches and stomach troubles that seriously afflicted me when I was a college student even to the extent of incapacitating me for efficient effort in any mental line of work. I suffered a sickening distress almost every weekend in Ann Arbor. I was carrying a double load, one in the law school and the other in the university proper. I did five years work in three, working two summers alone since there were then no summer schools.<sup>28</sup>

I took the bar examination in Michigan because Franklin S. Richards urged it and said there was doubt as to whether I could be admitted to practice in Utah, because I had been through the Endowment House in which the judges believed oaths were taken against the Government that showed disloyalty. Fortunately, he was wrong, but I think I was the first endowed Mormon in that period of intense excitement and hatred to be admitted to the Utah bar. The only other I know of, LeGrand Young, had been earlier when the issue was not so violent. His partner, Parley Williams, was also interested in Brigham Young's patronage that LeGrand, his nephew, would assure to the firm.<sup>29</sup>

I often think of what college training did for me. As soon as I obtained my degree of bachelor of law, I was automatically transferred from the class in which I moved in the district school of the

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<sup>27</sup> Ibid.

<sup>28</sup> Memorandum dated Dec. 1944, Box 1, fd 4.

<sup>29</sup> Memorandum dated Sept. 1945, Box 13, fd 1. Richards had visited Moyle in Ann Arbor to discuss the possibility of a partnership. See diary entries, Feb. 1885, Box 1, fd 3.

Fifteenth Ward where only teamsters, ordinary mechanics, common farmers, clerks, mason tenders, and pick-and-shovel laborers moved. My associates graduated into those vocations, and not one of them went beyond them when they started life, because they prepared for nothing else. I alone of all the boys in my classes, except John and Lafayette Burton, sons of Bishop Burton, stepped up immediately in higher pay and greater distinction, not because of ability but by greater ambition and industry. I became at once outstanding and distinctive because I had gone to college and trained myself for less competition and better opportunity. I wish I could present the picture as I see it, because it meant a sudden leap up from a common westside clodhopper (so to speak) to the highest status a young man could attain.<sup>30</sup>

#### **David Whitmer, My First Witness**

I was anxious to get home after three long years in school, but on May 10, 1885, my father wrote to me making a suggestion for my return trip to Utah that startled me, but upon which I was happy to act: "David Whitmer, being the only one living of the three witnesses of the Book of Mormon," he wrote, "it is my wish that you make it a point to call and see him for it will be of advantage to you in a time to come." So I detoured to Richmond, Missouri, where I found Brother Whitmer in the yard of his small home.<sup>31</sup>

David Whitmer, at the time of my two-hour interview with him, was in very good health for a man of his years. His mind was clear and he did not waver, so far as I could observe, even at the end of a continuous line of questions from a sprouting attorney examining and cross-examining his first witness in a matter of supreme importance to him. I felt that nothing I had ever done was of more importance to me. I had no thought of its importance to others, or I would not have contented myself with making only a very brief statement of the most essential facts in the daily diary I had kept for years. I had enquired of Brother Whitmer at the hotel where I had to stay overnight (because there was only one train a day that

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<sup>30</sup> Memorandum dated Feb.-Apr. 1944, Box 10, fd 6.

<sup>31</sup> See James Moyle to James H. Moyle, 10 May 1885, Box 3, fd 1; Sessions, "Biographies and Reminiscences," sec. 14, letter 21.

stopped at Richmond). The clerk said Whitmer was one of the very highly respected citizens of the community; the driver of the hack that ran from the train to the hotel told me the same. In fact, the same answer came from all I questioned and I missed no opportunity. Whitmer was slender, tall, and of an intellectual cast. He was frank and willing to respond and had the appearance of an honest, sincere but plain man of good countenance. He was quite gray, and the photographs the Church has show him without beard, but my recollection is that he had a full, long, white beard. I read in an interview while in Michigan that he had white hair and a patriarchal beard. It was a very impressive sight. I understood he was troubled with curiosity seekers and sometimes slow to see them on that account. So I was grateful he spoke with me for so long.<sup>32</sup>

David Whitmer, the only one of the Three Witnesses who did not return to the Church or become reconciled to it, told me then in 1885 (just three years before his death) that he had never left the Church. "I have presided over a branch of the Church here in Richmond, Missouri, up to the present time." He also claimed that Joseph Smith was a fallen prophet of God and that he accepted all that was revealed to him up to 1835. "When Sidney Rigdon obtained such influence over him, I did not know after 1835 whether his revelations came from God or Sidney Rigdon," said Whitmer. "I have presided over this branch from that day to this and I have never denied the divinity of the Book of Mormon." He also told me of a visit to him of Oliver Cowdery shortly before the latter's death in which Oliver declared to him the divinity of the testimony they had borne concerning the Book of Mormon, and had appealed to Whitmer to continue to be true to it.<sup>33</sup>

In later years I had occasion to feel very disappointed in myself over the Whitmer interview. Here I was a graduating law student and a young lawyer and I somehow failed to take an affidavit from Brother Whitmer.<sup>34</sup>

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<sup>32</sup> Memorandum dated Aug. 1943, Box 10, fd 2. See diary entry dated 28 June 1885, Box 1, fd 3; Sessions, "View of James Henry Moyle," pp. 28-30.

<sup>33</sup> Memorandum dated Aug. 1943, Box 10, fd 2. See diary entry dated 28 June 1885, Box 1, fd 3; Sessions, "View of James Henry Moyle," pp. 28-30.

<sup>34</sup> Interview with Evelyn Moyle Nelson by Gene A. Sessions, 20 June 1974, transcript of twelve pages, p. 6, CLA.

### Ready for Life

As I traveled on home to Salt Lake City, the concerns of my mind began to change. To me, the most important event of my life from my youth through the years was to be united eternally to the one the Father had in store for me. I devoutly believed that if I lived a life worthy of His favor, He would provide one who was best suited to my conditions. I believed perfectly in my patriarchal blessing and the promise therein that as sure as God existed, when the right girl appeared, I would be led to her. I knew I would somehow or other be inspired with the knowledge for which I had for so long earnestly and devoutly prayed.

That state of mind existed, and I was as free as the air I breathed from obligations of any kind to any woman when I returned home from school. I had always held and upheld the moral privilege of womanhood as something sacred, that it was the privilege and duty of man to be the head and leader of the family. I believed when a woman entrusted herself to intimate association with a man it was his duty and sacred responsibility to protect her from sin as much as that of physical harm, because the former was infinitely the more important of the two. That belief I had inherited from birth and religious environment. It was the belief of all practically with whom I associated until I reached manhood. It was a "Mormon" heritage that I have always valued beyond measure and for which I have the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints to thank. If there were nothing else especially praiseworthy in Mormonism, that alone would make its existence worthwhile. God be praised for saving me from that sin, the most debasing, bestial and degrading of all human weaknesses, and the mortal enemy of the highest, noblest creative power of man. Sexual immorality is the polluting of the source of human life, and the destruction of the greatest happiness in life itself. It involves the highest irresponsibility of life.<sup>35</sup>

To make sure that I have adequately expressed my appreciation for the dearest, choicest, most happy thing, enduring and greatest blessing of my earthy life, I want my grandchildren to know what I have often said to my children. In my teens I received a patriarchal blessing from John Smith, then Patriarch of the

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<sup>35</sup> Undated memorandum, Box 8, fd 4.

Church, in which he said that I “would have a wife suited to my conditions.” I lived and prayed for that blessing more than any other with a devout belief in the Gospel of Jesus Christ, the divinity of His work here on earth, and the inspiration of His servants.<sup>36</sup>

While I was on my mission I had corresponded quite regularly with Clint Young and exchanged pictures. I also corresponded frequently with Hattie and Libby Hooper. I thought the three girls were the choicest of my acquaintances, but there was nothing in my letters suggesting marriage. It was only the beginning of a lifetime of real friendships and cordial relationships. While I was on a mission, my correspondence with Hattie Hooper ended or was rare. Then I wrote quite regularly to Libby, who about the time I went to school or soon after married David C. Dunbar, a brilliant Salt Lake boy who was then manager or editor of the *Omaha Herald*.<sup>37</sup>

At Ann Arbor I corresponded most with Helen Kimball Whitney, the granddaughter of the second bishop of the Church and sister of Bishop and Apostle Orson F. Whitney. I had called on her only a few times and never took her out anywhere, but I had paid exceptional attention to her because she was a young lady of such fine intelligence and appearance. Her mother was also exceptionally intelligent. All of this greatly appealed to me, but she impressed me as being moody and even gloomy.<sup>38</sup>

While at the Deseret University in 1882, I saw at a distance (only but once) the girl I would marry—Alice E. Dinwoodey. She was much younger than I and very slender, and did not particularly attract my attention, except that I was told by Professor Joseph Toronto, her teacher, that she was an exceptionally good student. That was something that I greatly admired and remembered. But I was not (as they are now) stuck on the very slender. I wanted children strong, as well as intelligent, boys who would be big, vigorous, athletic, and healthy.

After I went to Ann Arbor, I saw and heard no more of Alice and did not even speak of her, except in conversations with Henry

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<sup>36</sup> Memorandum dated Feb. 1939, Box 8, fd 4.

<sup>37</sup> Undated memorandum, Box 8, fd 4. See Sessions, “View of James Henry Moyle,” p. 61.

<sup>38</sup> Undated memorandum, Box 8, fd 4.

Rolapp, my roommate. He knew her as a friend of Allie Eldredge, whom he courted. I told him of what Toronto had said and of my admiration for it. Rolapp also spoke favorably of her. I admired her father, who was portly rather than slender. I had never seen her mother except for once and she was stout rather than thin; so Alice remained in my mind. In the winter of 1886 and 1887 I attended a university dance on the Sixteenth Ward Square. I had been anxiously looking for a wife, but had made no headway whatever and had no feeling of assurance that I had seen the right one. While dancing with Annie Hooper, I saw a tall young lady on the other side of the room whose face I thought was absolutely beautiful. The only time that I can recall ever asking to be introduced to a lady was on this occasion. I felt before meeting her that if she was what she seemed to me to be that she was the girl for whom I had been so eagerly looking and praying for. From that night I had no doubt about whom I wanted to marry and did not let the grass grow under my feet. We were engaged on September 13 following and married November 17, 1887. I was ready for life.<sup>39</sup>

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<sup>39</sup> Memorandum dated Feb. 1939, Box 8, fd 4. See also for the period of this chapter the following: Memorandum dated May 1944, Box 10, fd 6; reminiscences dated 1896-1938, Box 1, fd 4; Sessions, "View of James Henry Moyle," pp. 1-31.



## *Chapter 5*

# LAWYER, LEGISLATOR, AND DEMOCRAT

### **The First Years**

Immediately after my return home in 1885 I entered the law firm of Franklin S. Richards, with offices located in the Hooper Building which had just been erected. Later we moved to the new Constitution Building. In August or September I was made assistant city attorney under Richards, and at the same time I was appointed deputy county attorney for Salt Lake County, and immediately entered upon a very active practice of the law, especially as police court prosecutor. I also did all the prosecuting in all of the courts in behalf of the county attorney. During the following year, 1886, I was elected county attorney and re-elected in 1888 by the Peoples Party, and at the same time was elected to the territorial legislature, in which I took a prominent part.<sup>1</sup>

When I first ran for county attorney just after leaving school, my old friend, Thomas F. Howells, said that I was on the way to

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<sup>1</sup> Memorandum dated Mar. 1932, Box 9, fd 3; James Henry Moyle Collection, Library-Archives, Historical Department, Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City, hereinafter cited as CLA. All references hereinafter to box and folder (fd) are for items from this collection. The Hooper Building was located on the north side of First South between Main and State streets.

apostasy from the Church and used the fact against me, though he had always before been very friendly. I think he was influenced some by jealousy, though he was in no sense a rival. His ambition was to teach school as he was doing and did all his life. He was older than I, and I seemed to be moving up too rapidly. When I fitted into the situation he became a friend and admirer again.<sup>2</sup>

In this connection, George Q. Cannon and Brigham Young, Jr., attended the celebration in the old courthouse when I was first elected county attorney in 1886, and we had a keg of beer for the few who were present and at which Apostle Young rather shocked me with the freedom of his indulgence. The virtues of men like Elder Young and their real worth are undeniable, but efforts to conceal the wrong and exalt the right accomplish nothing. It is rather a lack of knowledge of the conditions under which they lived that makes some of their actions easily misunderstood in the light of today.<sup>3</sup>

During those first years of my law practice, criminal cases appealed from the police court or precinct justices of the peace were frequently not prosecuted there and were left without action because of the prejudiced judges and (very frequently) jurors who were often selected by deputy marshals who would select their friendly acquaintances who liked the job. Not a few were of the street-loafing kind, so that between the prejudice of the judges and jurors against anything Mormon the verdict was usually known before the case was ever heard. It was so bad that the old county attorney, a very reputable and fine man, had seen justice defeated so often that he began to let cases rest, because he felt that it was hopeless or not worthwhile trying.<sup>4</sup>

Judge Charles S. Zane was a man of fine, clean, and moral quality. His son John and I were in some classes together at Ann Arbor, although he did not study law. I got on fairly well with Judge Zane and he treated me very well. I was also ambitious, and keen

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<sup>2</sup> Memorandum dated Mar. 1945, Box 12, fd 2.

<sup>3</sup> Memorandum dated Sept., Nov.-Dec. 1943, Box 10, fd 3. See comments on the same subject in chap. 2.

<sup>4</sup> Undated memorandum, Box 8, fd 4. See John Nebeker, "Early Justice in Utah," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 3 (1935): 87-89.

to make a good record, hence I was persistent and on the job with the result that I cleaned out all of the old cases within a few weeks.<sup>5</sup>

It was almost a nightly occurrence for someone to be drugged or so drunk that he would be robbed. One favorite scheme was to get a man drunk or drugged and have some fellow quarrel with him then get him on the floor and roll him around until his pockets were relieved of money, beat him, and then get away. There were generally a bunch of loafers around to do the job and share the profits.<sup>6</sup>

Offenders often attempted to bribe the prosecuting attorney. A party charged with a police court offense would say to the prosecutor that he wanted to retain his service for which he offered a "fee." I was new in the business, but I recognized it for what it was and to each firmly replied that I could not accept the money. At first the approach was so apparently innocent and cleverly made that I took no action, but when it was repeated several times, I determined to end these attempts not only by prosecuting the individuals vigorously, but when the trials came I informed the judge of the facts and asked that they be given the limit of the law authorized. That medicine was a perfect antidote and I was never again annoyed by a bribery attempt.

As county attorney and member of the legislature, I received from the two railroad systems free annual passes for their roads in Utah, as was their custom in all such cases. These I returned unused. When Dan Spencer, my boyhood chum and then assistant passenger agent (and later the general agent of the Union Pacific), urged me to accept, I replied: "I am now a public official, and I will not be embarrassed by your coming to me asking aid in getting a privilege from the city council or legislature. I am going to be absolutely free in my political and public activities." That was the substance of it. But it was not an uncommon thing at the same time for influential men to ask for and use their influence to get not only such passes over the Utah roads but general passes. Parley L. Williams, so long the attorney for the Union Pacific system in this section, said to me that he was disgusted when he even had a

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<sup>5</sup> Undated memorandum, Box 8, fd 4. See Thomas G. Alexander, "Charles S. Zane, Apostle of the New Era," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 34 (Fall 1966): 290-314.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*

member of the Supreme Court (when important railroad cases were before that court) insist that he be given not only a pass over the system to Omaha but over connecting lines to New York and then over the steamship lines to Europe. He named the man, but I will not.<sup>7</sup>

### Defending Polygamists

During the late 1880s I was also active in the defense of polygamists, and I accompanied Sheriff Andrew Burt and William Salmon, a city policeman, on visits to the underground to interview witnesses and polygamists in hiding. We usually went at night and I recall carrying a pistol. Burt, who was also chief of police and bishop of the Twenty-first Ward, made me a special policeman with a star and club I still have.<sup>8</sup>

During the administration of Church President John Taylor, and notwithstanding congressional legislation and vigorous federal criminal prosecutions by anti-Mormon Federal officials, obedience to the law of plural marriage was emphasized more than ever before. In the selection of Church officials, polygamists were considered only where they could be found fitted for the work to be performed, but they were generally the superior men of the Church anyway. It is my understanding that the failure to select a polygamist was a rare exception. So not only monogamist officeholders but also members generally were urged more strenuously than before to enter into polygamy. John Taylor was reputed to be emphasizing that issue somewhat the same as Heber J. Grant is now emphasizing the importance of obedience to the Word of Wisdom and the payment of tithing. It was even asserted that President Taylor had received a revelation on the subject.

There is no doubt that the leaders of the Church were in earnest about the necessity of plural marriage in the face of threatened imprisonment and seizure of property. Moreover, there can be no doubt that the members obeyed that principle as a sacred institution and divine command. The question is now raised as to whether the members generally accepted that principle

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<sup>7</sup> Memorandum dated Sept.-Oct. 1943, Box 10, fd 3.

<sup>8</sup> Memorandum dated 1942, Box 9, fd 5.

as a part of their religion. I have no hesitance in saying that they did, and that they sincerely believed in its divine origin.<sup>9</sup>

I recognized polygamy as a part of my religious belief, an essential element among the principles of the Gospel of Jesus Christ, and I said to my wife when we were engaged that I was a whole-soul believer in the Gospel (which included polygamy) as understood by the Latter-day Saints. I added that I had no thought of engaging in that principle and had no desire to do so, and that I probably never would become a polygamist so far as I could then determine, but that if I should become convinced that it was my duty to take another wife, I should be free to do so. To that, my fiancée consented.

In view of all that has happened since my engagement, the question has often arisen in my mind as to whether the revelation on plural marriage was from God. My conclusion after pondering the matter for over fifty years is that plurality of wives under the sacred ordinances of the Church was a divine institution. But as my mind was directed to the subject recently by reading the sixth volume of the Roberts history of the first century of Mormonism and especially the Woodruff Manifesto of 1890, I asked myself, what would be the result if the revelation was not from God? The conclusion is that even in that event my faith in the Gospel is such that I would be unshaken in my belief that Joseph Smith was a prophet of God, and that the Gospel as otherwise revealed is true. I searched my mind on the subject and could come to no other conclusion. It just does not matter to my faith in the Church.<sup>10</sup>

### **The Practice of Law in Early Utah**

The General Authorities held offices in large corporations when I was active in the practice of law in the 1890s and early years of this century. Members of the Twelve then became directors even of mining corporations, with assets only of wildcat mining locations of no known value—purely speculative. The names helped to sell stock. But when I commenced to practice law in 1885 there

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<sup>9</sup> Memorandum dated May 1938, Box 9, fd 3.

<sup>10</sup> Memorandum dated Aug., Oct. 1941, Box 9, fd 6. See Kenneth W. Godfrey, "The Coming of the Manifesto," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 5 (Autumn 1970): 1-25; Henry J. Wolfinger, "A Reexamination of the Woodruff Manifesto in the Light of Utah Constitutional History," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 39 (Fall 1971): 328-49.

were very few corporations. I am quite sure partnerships were far more numerous and prominent in businesses both large and small. There were then even private banks. It would be interesting and instructive to know when Walker Brothers were incorporated and others. But a big change came in business with the Panic of 1893. Up to that time, there were very few corporations, but they multiplied very rapidly thereafter. (Now partnerships are becoming more popular again to avoid business concerns from getting into the higher brackets of the income tax.) After the Panic of 1893, corporations were popular to avoid personal liability beyond the money invested in the corporation. In a partnership, however small the interest, the liability was unlimited in cases of failure. And there were numerous failures in that Panic of 1893. In my opinion and I think it is clear, even Church procedure was vitally affected by that panic. For example, prior thereto practically all controversies among members were settled by the Church, but with the panic, attachments were common and had to be performed in a court of law.<sup>11</sup>

Thus very much of the universal custom or rule among Latter-day Saints not to take a brother into court gradually ended. The change developed naturally, sensibly, and with practically no formal action in the matter. I was a high councilor in the Ensign Stake when it was organized in 1904 and into the 1930s, and we only tried a case or possibly two a year, and those only for moral turpitude or violation of some Church law. So ended a salient feature of pioneer times when pretty much all were of one faith. It was of vital value then and now illustrates one of the great vitalities of Mormonism. Should we not therefrom acknowledge that the boy prophet's divine mission is very apparent? He presented to the Church that system of judicure in 1834 when he was only twenty-nine years old. It was as near perfect for the time and his people as God Himself could make it. His successors were inspired in making it effective and a great saving and harmonizing factor in the Mormon theocracy of the early life of the Church. While not in use so much now, it still continues the same service

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<sup>11</sup> Memorandum dated Nov. 1944, Box 1, fd 4. See Arrington, "Utah and the Depression of the 1890s," pp. 2-18.

and always will, because it is built on a divine foundation and should be used more freely than it is now.<sup>12</sup>

So it was not until the Panic of 1893 that the Church courts were not crowded with litigation of all kinds. It was in the early 1890s that I was put on trial in the Twelfth Ward before the bishop with all of the leading officers of a corporation for suing a brother in court. It was my only offense in a Church court but in this case I was only the attorney. The case was promptly dismissed when the corporate offense of the defendants became apparent, which it very soon did.<sup>13</sup>

### Healthful, Inspiring Surroundings

As my practice in these various facets of the law began to provide me with a good living, I turned my attention to a home for my family. In February of 1892 I purchased with my father-in-law, Henry Dinwoodey, the northeast corner of First South and Fourth East for \$25,000. It consisted of ten rods on First South Street and 187 1/2 feet on Fourth East with an addition at the northeast corner. On the land was an old adobe one-story building that needed to be removed. After the upper structure had been torn down, I thought I would remove the floor by myself. So after office hours I hastened to that floor and began to tear it off. I then found an older floor underneath, which I proceeded to remove alone. It was about dusk, and I was lifting something up, using all my strength, when I suddenly went through the first floor as if there were no floor under me. Fortunately, my arms caught on the side of the opening in the floor and to my astonishment I found that I was over an old well about sixty feet deep. It was then nearly dark. Few were passing as it was long after the usual travel home from office and workshop, and all was quiet around me. I was afraid for a moment that I could not get myself out, but finally managed to pull myself up. That was an experience I will never forget.<sup>14</sup>

I wanted healthful, inspiring surroundings for my children, so

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<sup>12</sup> Memorandum dated Sept. 1945, Box 13, fd 1. See D&C 102; Smith, *History of the Church*, 2:28-35.

<sup>13</sup> Memorandum dated Sept. 1945, Box 13, fd 1.

<sup>14</sup> Memorandum dated 1942, Box 9, fd 5.

in 1895 I built a summer home at an elevation of more than 8700 feet at Brighton or Silver Lake. It was the first modern home built there. Henry W. Lawrence built the first rustic home there. The only other buildings there at the time were three simple pioneer log cabins. J. R. Walker, Sr., and Dr. W. F. Anderson had two of these, and Ben Hampton had the other, which was the rudest of the three.<sup>15</sup>

In addition to the homes in Brighton and in the city, I purchased a ninety-six-acre farm, timbered and well-watered, at Cottonwood in 1903. It was about ten miles from my home in the city and is now in the choicest suburban home location in the state. I did this for the same reason I bought Brighton—I wanted healthful and inspiring surroundings for my children. I provided my boys and girls with horses and things like that to give them recreation and a closeness to life. Sara, for example, had a fine Shetland and a splendid wicker cart I bought from one of the Walker brothers. At the farm, I maintained a lake of an acre and a quarter in which there was ample running water for swimming, boating, and fishing. So I kept all three homes for my family through the years. I recently sold the cottage at Brighton to my son James with the understanding that it would be kept in the family as a mountain home.<sup>16</sup>

When my boys were growing, I had a grandson of the noted German police dog Rin Tin Tin of movie fame. He eventually became too savage for the city, and we gave him to Grant Ivins who was then in the country raising chickens. Grant later became a professor at Brigham Young University. But the dog became even too vicious for chicken thieves, so Grant gave him to a lonesome rancher in Idaho where he distinguished himself by taking a mouthful of the seat of a neighbor's trousers when he came to get some gasoline from a pump in the yard. This dog never gave notice of an attack, but quietly took a bite of what he thought was an intruder. We had him at our cottage at the farm for several years and he would not disturb under ordinary circumstances a well-dressed man or lady, but if a man in overalls came around or one very poorly dressed, he would quietly follow him and before he reached the door would advise him to stop by taking hold of

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<sup>15</sup> Memorandum dated Aug. 1943, Box 8, fd 3.

<sup>16</sup> Memorandum dated May 1944, Box 10, fd 6.

the leg of his pants. He was very large and in the city, he soon discovered that as people approached him on the sidewalk they gave him the right of way. He soon learned that it was great to enjoy that privilege so he would trot along the sidewalk just to see people get out of the way. One day, an elderly man who stood for his rights on the sidewalk claimed to have been knocked down and injured. That is when the dog was consigned to the farm and eventually to Idaho.<sup>17</sup>

Outside of the Brightons, I was the only Mormon to locate at Silver Lake when I built our cottage there in 1895. Dr. Anderson, the only Mormon in his family, preceded me, but he was not active in the Church. So in the early days there were no Mormons there except my family. Consequently, I loved to take my family to the top of the peaks around Brighton on Sunday, and there hold an informal service of sorts. I never worshipped my God more fervently than when sitting on top of one of those peaks looking at the surrounding mountains. From majestic Wolverine, 11,000 feet elevation, you could see Timpanogos nearby on the south, Twin Peaks just west, and all the way to the mountains about Logan on the north, and the peaks in the Uintas on the east. From Wolverine you could also look down the Little Cottonwood and see the Jordan, and from Scots Peak on the north you could see through an opening in the ridge of the main Wasatch on the west the Great Salt Lake. It was really an impressive sight. I know of nothing that ever impressed me more spiritually than the grandness of the view from our high mountain peaks. There a nearness to Deity was a reality.

I loved in the evening to gaze from the porch in front of the cottage on Sunset Peak and witness the last rays of the sun shining on it. It is triangular in form, and from its sides flow the rain and snow to the east down Snake Creek to Midway, Heber City, and the Provo River, down Little Cottonwood west and down Big Cottonwood north, and then west both to the Jordan. I am not sure whether some of the water does not go south and east down the American Fork to the Utah Lake. Its peak is the corner of Utah, Salt Lake, and Wasatch Counties, and Summit is not far away. It is not quite so high as some others but enough to be impressive.

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<sup>17</sup> Memorandum dated May 1938, Box 9, fd 3.

Its sides are not so rugged but rather placid and pleasing. I loved Brighton as no place else on earth, but I had too much to do in the city to stay there as much as I would have liked.<sup>18</sup>

### **The Legislature of 1888**

I was re-elected county attorney in 1887 and at the same time was elected a member of the house in the territorial legislature of 1888, and made chairman of the committee on education, to my lasting satisfaction.

I hope to be pardoned for personal references; they seem to fit in so naturally to me in my old age. But let me here emphasize the fact that no special individual credit is due me for leadership in the work of which I will write concerning the establishment of public institutions for the advancement of the intellectual and moral welfare of the territory. The real leadership exhibited then was rather by men who had remained at home and had longer active public service. I had just emerged from school and this was my first appearance in real public life. In those days the dominating motto was that the office should seek the man and not the man the office and so the senior brethren and controlling statesmen settled in the background who would be nominated, and the nomination meant election up to that date, but not thereafter. Indeed, a new era dawned afterwards and that legislature was its prelude. The end of the old road had been reached and a new era for better or worse had arrived by 1890. The wise old leaders thought for the worse, and even with my recent three years' absence in a purely intellectual sphere with no contact with home surroundings and the violent prejudices and existing hatreds, I found myself largely in sympathy with their fears for the worst.

That legislature of 1888, nevertheless, was the prelude to the new era in Utah that meant so much of good as well as evil. The travail through which we passed in the 1890s not only gave birth to free graded schools, pure running water in houses, sewers, and street improvements, but it opened the way for progressive thinking that ultimately changed the entire intellectual environment in the territory. But do not think for a moment that there was not good in the old regime. In fact there was as much of good in the

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<sup>18</sup> Memorandum dated Nov. 1945, Box 13, fd 3.

old as the new philosophy of social and political life, for the time. The old, as I have said, will furnish the finest field for the study of empire building and the laying of the soundest foundation upon to build a lasting, stable structure. The rugged individualism of Brigham Young's period was the best for that time. However inappropriate as I believe it would be now, the more we can retain of that spirit in our present social fabric the better for the state and individual. But with the New Deal we are again in a social revolution and a new order of life is inevitable; we will accommodate ourselves to it or go into the discard and oblivion into which all reactionary policies lead. But this is not the point for such discussions and again may I be pardoned. I am so full of this thinking that it is a relief to get some of it out of my system. My point is that the legislature of 1888 and the public institutions it created and the intellectual progress it promoted were far-seeing and revolutionary.

Remember, there was but one public institution in the territory maintained by the territorial treasury and that was the insane asylum created in 1880. The Deseret Agricultural and Manufacturing Association, which conducted our territorial fairs, was a second institution, but it provided its own support.<sup>19</sup> I was one of its directors appointed by Governor Caleb West in 1889 at the same time I was made a director of the more famous reformatory. The association's main job was to conduct the territorial fair, but it was an important and choice institution whose board members, like those of the asylum and reformatory, were among the prominent men of the territory. Possibly a third was the Nauvoo Legion or territorial militia which, like the fair board, was a real live institution of great importance and dignity until it became so important that it was suppressed by Congress as a menace of some kind to the nation. The officers of the Legion were real dignitaries in their times and the militia encampments outside of the city were not only full of great dignity and importance but were also picturesque. The officers of the militia were all proud of their fine, full blue uniforms and the generals, majors, and captains with their

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<sup>19</sup> Undated memorandum, Box 9, fd 2. See also undated memorandum, Box 8, fd 6; Leonard J. Arrington, "The Deseret Agricultural and Manufacturing Society in Pioneer Utah," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 24 (1956): 165-70.

dashing, large ostrich-feathered hats were the admiration of the ladies and children, and jealousy of men. The parade through the city during the week or more of their annual encampment was comparable if not greater than the splendid Fourth and Twenty-fourth of July celebrations we have now. Everybody saw it, and in the city and parade grounds outside of the city, men and officers gave up their employment elsewhere and served night and day to play in the magnificence of their heroic surroundings. I do not think any were paid, but I do not know. The cavalry and cannon brigades developed some fine horses and plenty of pride.

The public schools, like the university, were supported completely by the tuition collected from the students. The legislature did, however, give to the university \$5,000 a year for free tuition and aid to forty normal students and the same amount for the care and education of indigent deaf mutes. The majority of the older statesmen in the legislature who had theretofore dominated the scene, and with the support of one of the best carpetbag governors we ever had, bitterly opposed most of the appropriations made. The demand for brevity prevents more details, but the main opposition came from and centered in the special friends of the insane asylum who clamored for an abundant appropriation for the asylum. It had received theretofore pretty much all of the territorial revenue except that needed for paying the expense and salaries of public officials and providing for roads and bridges. There was a little done also for the fish and game organization. The Utah County members were real leaders in the legislature and (with the sympathy of others and the governor) were strongly for the asylum. But there was a new element elected in 1888, consisting chiefly of the young men particularly from north of Utah County but scattered all over the state. We organized to defeat what was called "the asylum ring," and our revolutionary appropriations thereafter made it necessary to bond the territory for the first time in the sum of \$150,000.<sup>20</sup>

An unprecedented sum of \$75,000 was appropriated for a reform school to be located in Ogden, the most important city in the territory excepting the capital, and \$25,000 for an agricultural college to be located in the extreme northern end of the

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<sup>20</sup> Memorandum dated Feb. 1944, Box 10, fd 4.

state. This may sound extraordinary and highly inconsistent as it did to me at the time. But Salt Lake County was satisfied with what was done for the university and the fair board, and Cache with the college, and Weber with the reform school. Nephi, then an important center, was satisfied with having the federal court held there once a year. Ogden got the reform school largely because it had one of the youngest men in the legislature who came the nearest to being the leader of what I may be permitted to call the progressive forces of that legislature, C. C. Richards. It was he who organized the Weber forces, who to a man wanted the reform school rather than the college, and he had the best of company in that undertaking. There were no finer characters in the territory than those prominent in that effort. They were the leading men among public officials, business, church, and social leaders, such as the successful and far-seeing Tom Dee, whose name will always be honored by the monumental hospital deservedly named after him.

Little then was known about agricultural colleges. Agricultural instruction had been taught in Catholic schools, in Harvard, and in some other institutions, but it was not until the Morrill Bill in the Congress of 1862 that the Government started its land-grant college program which gave impetus to their rapid growth and great importance.<sup>21</sup>

We created the reform school, the agricultural college, and the school for the deaf and blind. We doubled the appropriation for the normal branch of the University of Utah, and made a large appropriation for the equipment of the new university building on the old Union Square. We issued the first bonds of the territory to foster all this advancement. All of this was accomplished in the face of the strongest opposition from the governor and old conservative leaders of the dominant Peoples Party that had elected the legislature. The political leadership of that party was hence reformed at the same time, as were also its political philosophies. This progressive break paved the way for the Liberal Party in Salt Lake City to establish free and graded schools, to give to the city the sanitary reforms it so badly needed, and particularly to put running mountain water into the homes of the people and thereby

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<sup>21</sup> Undated memorandum, Box 9, fd 2.

save them from the ravages of death caused by the use of surface-water wells or gutter water to drink. This practically eliminated uncontrollable diseases such as dyptheria that caused the death of thousands (especially little children) in the early 1880s. Some epidemics literally wiped out some families and decimated others, as in the case of the Moyles. But for that dread scourge there would have been double the number in Father's large family. It is difficult to make an apology for these long-delayed but desperately-needed reforms.<sup>22</sup>

While the Liberal Party victory of 1890 was local, the old Peoples Party representatives were overwhelmingly in the majority in the legislature of 1888, and it meant still more because it happened first and involved the entire territory. The significance of its action is enlarged by the fact that it came from within the dominating element (rugged individualism) of the time while that of the Liberal Party regime in Salt Lake City came from without the territory and from surrounding conditions that made it much easier for it to conceive of advancing beyond that period of isolated pioneering. To be brief, the younger element in the Peoples Party in that legislature quietly overwhelmed the old leadership of the party. When they saw what was happening they fought desperately to regain their position of power and extreme conservatism that had previously prevailed in keeping taxation down to a minimum. They hoped to maintain the old conditions with only a moderate advance and to prevail in their desire for the established order for funding—roads, bridges, the territorial judiciary officials, and the one institution maintained by the territory, the insane asylum. It was a great advance made in 1880 of which the older conservatives were justly proud.

But that was not in the minds of the younger element. We quietly and carefully organized our forces to reverse the old order and, if needed, to go to extremes to do what the new times and conditions demanded. It was thus that a new era of social and educational advancement dawned in a realistic way. It was the product of the Peoples Party in 1888 and not that of the Liberal Party of 1890 after a local victory.

I might say more about the great question over the locations

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<sup>22</sup> Memorandum dated Dec. 1945, Box 13, fd 3.

of these new institutions. One said the college was located where it was because anything raised in Cache Valley could be raised anywhere in Utah, but I think the majority wanted it elsewhere. I know I thought it should be located in Davis County where the highest and most varied production was possible. If Davis County had had the votes that Weber County had, it would in my opinion have been located there. So the real answer lies in the realm of power politics. Legislators, like most men, must be practical to be successful. The population in the territory was as it is now largely north of Utah County which had the asylum. I was not one of the real leaders in the legislature when elected for I was only two years out of school and had been out of Utah on a mission and at school for almost six years. But men of near my age who during that time had been active in home affairs were the most prominent leaders. I am pleased to say that the gentleman elected as our president, Judge Elias A. Smith, was president of the Senate and rendered yeoman service for the new cause. He was also probate judge of Salt Lake County, the highest elective judicial office in the territory. While we had numerous real leaders, I would say C. C. Richards of Ogden was the outstanding field leader of the new element. Weber County was the most populous and potent next to Salt Lake, and therefore Weber County with such a leader was able to get its choice after Salt Lake. It was a cold-blooded and realistic affair in which local interests played a very prominent role. Some of the best and ablest men in the legislature were from Utah County and they fought as desperately as any for their pride in the humanitarian asylum. It was the same in Weber County; they had and always have had outstanding and able men both in business and public affairs, and all joined tenaciously and with intensity in supporting the leadership of C. C. Richards in demanding the reform school and the largest single appropriation ever made to that time by any Utah legislature to establish and maintain that school, and in rejecting the college the legislators would have gladly given them.

Another question was why the greater appropriation for the reform school. My own answer to the problem so far as I saw it was that the "rising generation" (a common expression in that day) was Utah's best crop. Their welfare was of the greatest interest to all involved in public welfare. Therefore the spiritual and moral welfare of the young was of the highest importance. The insane

had to be cared for, because they were unable to provide for themselves or control their actions, so they came first. The moral and spiritual welfare of children was not secondary, but it could wait longer. The need for an agricultural education was less urgent still. Cache County got the college simply because its votes were dominant in the north. Bryan of Nephi, another leader, was satisfied with all he could get, namely one term a year of the Federal Court to be held in Nephi, the “Little Chicago” of Utah, as he wanted it called. So it was with that kind of log-rolling that the new institutions were created, rather than standing for and waiting for just what could be the ultimate best. It is thus apparent that the older wise men of the legislature were not without some justification for their conservatism.

What I want to emphasize is the fact that the younger elements were inspired with the right ideals and determination to do what was so badly needed as best they could. And they did it, and thus was ushered in a new era of progress by the sons of the pioneers in 1888. Once again, it preceded the work of the Liberal Party in 1890.

The importance of the reform school was further emphasized in the fact that provision was made for a committee of four to go east and study reformatories and then to advise the trustees as to the best methods to follow. The committee consisted of the county attorneys of Salt Lake (myself), Davis (Joseph Barton), and Box Elder (Ricey Jones), with George W. Thatcher, Jr., as secretary. We visited the principal reformatories of the United States, and recommended the adoption of the Michigan plan based on patterning the school on home life with a father and mother in a separate home with as many inmates as they could care for, and with the best possible classification of the same. As only one building was provided for and the inmates were limited, all lived in one building, but the ideal was to make the school as near like a home as practical.<sup>23</sup> After our report, the Reform School at Ogden was erected. I at once became a director, and shortly after, president of the board.<sup>24</sup>

It may be of interest to know that in that legislature were many

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<sup>23</sup> Memorandum dated Aug. 1945, Box 12, fd 4.

<sup>24</sup> Memorandum dated Mar. 1932, Box 9, fd 3.

young men who subsequently became leaders in wider public fields. C. C. Richards became the first Mormon secretary of the territory and Mormon federal official in Utah after Brigham Young's time. He was also the first chairman of the Democratic Party of Utah. William H. King became a federal judge, Congressman, and United States Senator. Clarence E. Allen and Joseph Howell also became Congressmen. Samuel R. Thurman, a far-seeing, wise counselor and able advocate at the bar and public forum, distinguished himself as judge and chief justice of the State of Utah. Anthon H. Lund, then a merchant in Ephraim and author of the reform school bill, was later an outstanding member of the First Presidency of the Church. There were other bright lights in that legislature, but those were the most notable in my mind.<sup>25</sup> The men with whom I worked most closely in that legislature were Franklin S. Richards, Hosea Stout, Zerubbabel Snow, Isaac Wadell, C. C. Richards, and Franklin D. Richards.<sup>26</sup>

I must mention one more experience in the legislature. I introduced the bill for locating the capitol where it is now and drew the deed for the same and resolution of acceptance. At the same time, being assistant city attorney, I acted as attorney for the city in the same matter.<sup>27</sup>

The doctrine of rugged individualism was so ingrained in the social fabric of Utah that it required a sort of revolution or new generation to change it suddenly. At least, that which was easy for the new generation was very hard for the old one. They would have come to it all right but by slower degrees. Nevertheless, a new era had dawned in the 1880s and the younger men with some of the older were ready for it and they acted, and the result on the whole was justified and helpful. So I have always considered the legislature of 1888 to have been a real revolution, for we changed the social thinking of the territory.<sup>28</sup>

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<sup>25</sup> Memorandum dated Aug. 1945, Box 12, fd 4. In a note to this passage, Moyle said that the "record" indicating that Lund authored the college bill was incorrect.

<sup>26</sup> Memorandum dated 1942, Box 9, fd 5.

<sup>27</sup> Memorandum dated Feb.-Apr. 1944, Box 10, fd 6. See Everett L. Cooley, "Utah's Capitols," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 27 (1959): 258-73.

<sup>28</sup> Memorandum dated Aug. 1945, Box 12, fd 4.

### The End of the Peoples Party

I was for several years a director of the territorial fair and held similar honorary positions, but I was always most interested in elective politics. I was a member and chairman of a subcommittee of the Peoples Party that conducted the most exciting campaign ever known in Utah, that in which the Liberals were triumphant over the Peoples Party. In the winter of 1889-90 as a member of the Peoples Party committee, I was present at the dissolution of the party, and I then announced my devotion to Democratic principles. I assisted as one of the younger men in the organization of the Democratic Party of Utah, and at once I became a member of its territorial committee on which I continued to be active. But I never sought office until 1900 when I was nominated for governor.<sup>29</sup>

My history study in Ann Arbor led me to the fixed conclusion that the union of church and state is injurious to both, and when I returned home I determined that I would do what I could to effect its separation in Utah. My opportunity came at the dissolution of the Peoples Party at the Gardo House in 1890 following the victory of the Liberal Party in Salt Lake City.<sup>30</sup>

Politics in Utah up to the 1890s was not Democratic or Republican, populist or prohibitionist, socialist or communis or laborite, but simply Mormon vs. Gentile. The Mormons werethe Israelites and the non-Mormons were the Gentiles, and the conest of division had nothing whatever to do with national poliics. Southern Democrats and Northern Republicans were togener members of the Liberal Party if they were Gentiles or apostaes. And old Whigs like Daniel H. Wells stood by died-in-the-wool Democrats in the Peoples Party if they were Mormons. And wat a fight it was! Its intensity has never been equaled since the days when men and women and children were burned at the stake or their religious beliefs. Is there any wonder, as we look at he situation a half century later, that the religious leaders who donated the Peoples Party were terrified when they were defeated on their own territory in the city elections of 1890?<sup>31</sup>

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<sup>29</sup> Memorandum dated Mar. 1932, Box 9, fd 3.

<sup>30</sup> Memorandum dated Sept.-Oct. 1942, Box 9, fd 6.

<sup>31</sup> Memorandum dated Feb.-Apr. 1944, Box 10, fd 6.

A supreme effort was made by the Peoples Party to hold the political control of Salt Lake City. No campaign has ever compared with that of the city election of 1890 either in its expenditures, duration, or intensity. I doubt that it has been equaled in any city of the United States of the same size. It was a life-and-death struggle for the control of the city and the survival of the political leadership of Mormon ecclesiastical leaders. The fate of the Church political party was in the balance. Failure meant its death. With Liberal victory, it soon became apparent that it was necessary to bury that party. Hence, a private meeting was arranged for the members of the Peoples Party Committee and leaders of the party. It was held in the Gardo House, the official home of the President of the Church. There was a full attendance, but I do not remember whether the members of the Peoples Party Territorial Committee were invited or not. My recollection is that the meeting included only the City Committee and leaders of the party.<sup>32</sup>

Again, I have a very unclear recollection of who were at the Gardo House meeting. Richard W. Young was there as was Franklin S. Richards who was city chairman of the party. I do not remember whether John R. Winder was present though he may have been, because I believe he was party chairman of the territory. I presume LeGrand Young was there, but he was not active politically as I remember.<sup>33</sup> There were, of course, many others—all the prominent members of the Peoples Party councils. We were there for some time, but little if anything was done until we were advised that George Q. Cannon, then on the underground, was to be present. We had not seen any member of the First Presidency of the Church for a considerable time. It was a real event, therefore, for President Cannon to attend our meeting and it had been kept a secret. I have no definite recollection as to the preliminaries of the meeting except that we were looking for some clear word from the Presidency. This we received.

I can see now the view of President Cannon's entrance into the large room on the west side of the building. He entered from

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<sup>32</sup> Undated memorandum, Box 8, fd 9. See O. N. Malmquist, *The First 100 Years: A History of the Salt Lake Tribune, 1871-1971* (Salt Lake City: Utah State Historical Society, 1971), pp. 133-36.

<sup>33</sup> Memorandum dated Aug. 1945, Box 12, fd 4.

a door on the east. Always well-dressed, he wore on this occasion a dark suit. He was not a large man, but solidly built, with large, prominent, and brilliant blue eyes, and I think he would have commanded attention anywhere on account of his personality. He was recognized as the intellectual leader of the Mormon people, and not lacking in spirituality. His only rival in this respect was the suave Moses Thatcher, one of the twelve apostles at this time. Although both were then Democrats, they later became political enemies, for President Cannon turned Republican, while Thatcher continued a Democrat. I am not sure whether Thatcher was present on this occasion, but think not. President Cannon, after passing through the door moved to the front of the room. All eyes were upon him.<sup>34</sup>

I can remember only the gist of what he said, but it was to this effect: "Our people think they are Democrats, but they as a rule have not studied the differences between the two parties. If they go into the Democratic Party the Gentiles will go into the Republican Party because the great majority of them, especially the leaders, are Republicans anyway, and the Democrats will follow, and we will have the old fight over again under new names. So, as many as possible of our people must go into the Republican Party."<sup>35</sup>

There was no controversy over what he said. I have no recollection of any comments being made, except one by me. I said that, from my earliest years, my sympathies had been decidedly with the Democratic Party; that my studies on the subject of politics, particularly at college, had made me a pronounced Democrat, having supported that party in the East; that I was ready and willing to stay with the Peoples Party as long as our leaders wished and to fight therein to the uttermost; but, if that party was to be disbanded, I wanted to be free to follow my convictions as to the national party lines in Utah.<sup>36</sup>

To this President Cannon replied that it would be all right for me to do so. "Brother Moyle," he said, "has some strong convic-

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<sup>34</sup> Evans manuscript quoting Moyle, Box 18, fd 2.

<sup>35</sup> Memorandum dated Aug. 1945, Box 12, fd 4.

<sup>36</sup> Evans manuscript quoting Moyle, Box 18, fd 2. See also undated memorandum, Box 8, fd 9.

tions on the subject, and he should be free to do as he wishes in the situation. Doubtless there are others with similar convictions, and they, too, should feel free to follow them. But those who have no such strong predilections on politics should go into the Republican Party, and they should feel that this is their right." To this he added: "One thing is certain, and that is that the old party fight as between Mormons and non-Mormons must not be allowed to continue."<sup>37</sup>

I believe without question that the Church leaders were sincere and wise in their desire to introduce a new era in their policy, and to eliminate the old fight between Mormon and Gentile, and that they realized that this could only be accomplished by dividing politically on national political lines in fact and not in name only. But I doubt that they so suddenly gave up their desire to be a real factor in Utah politics. On the contrary, they realized that they held a dominating influence over the thoughts and actions of a very large number of their Church members. It is as natural in man to love the exercise of power over his fellowman as to eat or to love the opposite sex. It is an immovable instinct. And power once acquired and exercised is never voluntarily surrendered. Its long enjoyment naturally develops the thought and matures in the belief that it is a right to be enjoyed and perpetuated. Such has been and will be the history of man. The exercise of that right is held as long as it is possible. It was only surrendered to some degree in this case because it was not possible to go on with it and obtain statehood at the same time.

Our Church leaders wanted statehood because they believed in the right to govern themselves locally. It was manifestly in the interest of all. They also knew their people were the majority in the territory and would be in the state, and they would be a real power therein politically as well as religiously. In my opinion the Church leaders could hardly avoid wanting to be a real power among their people, because they were and are deeply and sincerely interested in the people's welfare. And they believe in the

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<sup>37</sup> Evans manuscript quoting Moyle, Box 18, fd 2. See also memorandum dated Aug. 1945, Box 12, fd 4.

wisdom of what they think and their action varies accordig to the intensity of that belief in what should be done.<sup>38</sup>

### **Gumshoers from Church Headquarters**

All of this made it necessary to have influential religious leaders enter the field as Republicans. Apostles Francis M Lyman and John Henry Smith were apparently selected to be chiefs in leading into the Republican Party those who could be let Their families and those whom they could influence suddenly became Republicans; they carried on the work publicly as real believers in Republican issues. On the quiet, the big men (physically as well as ecclesiastically) attended conferences and priesthood meetings at which they mingled with as many as possible and especially the influential. They put their strong arms around their friends and said with such reasons as they could assign, "You want to get in line with your file leaders." It was not necessary to urge Mormons to go into the Democratic Party, so they became so converted to Republican issues that they were ardent and sometimes offensive partisans, and the fight became so bitter that many were offended religiously and some never got over it. It was a real trial for many good Latter-day Saints, who (thoroughly Democratic) hated the Republican carpetbaggers and the party that sent them.<sup>39</sup>

There is something to be said in justification of their action of making a deal with the Republicans for statehood. (That agreement, I believe, was negotiated by Joseph F. Smith and Hiram B. Clawson who were in Washington lobbying for statehood.) Republican stock was rising after the defeats Cleveland had given the party in 1884 and 1892. The serious and prolonged panic of 1893 made success for the Republicans almost certain in 1896. Additionally, the tariff issue also greatly favored the Republican in Utah. Matters worsened because most of the political antagonists on both sides were Mormons who tended to treat politics on the same principle as religion—truth vs. untruth, the one all right, he

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<sup>38</sup> Memorandum dated Aug. 1945, Box 12, fd 4. See also James B. Allen and Glen M. Leonard, *The Story of the Latter-day Saints* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Co. 1976), pp. 401-28.

<sup>39</sup> Undated memorandum, Box 8, fd 9. See Jean Bickmore White, "The Making of the Convention President: The Political Education of John Henry Smith," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 39 (Fall 1971): 350-69.

other all wrong. More bitter and unyielding partisanship never developed anywhere else in the land.<sup>40</sup>

We are now receding from that position, and very many are looking for where they can land in politics to their own personal advantage rather than standing on high ideals such as noble truth, justice, and the right. For example, the sheepmen of the state were pretty much all Democrats, but with the tariff issue in which so much to their personal benefit was promised by the Republicans, they practically all became Republicans, not only because of advice from religious leaders but personal selfishness. This was not so, however, with me, even though I always made sheep my principal investment. An outstanding Republican leader who was also interested in sheep said to me: "When dark days come to Democracy in Utah, you come with us and there is nothing you want that will not be within your reach."<sup>41</sup>

It was a difficult situation for Mormon Democrats. "Follow your file leaders" was the appeal made most effectively by Lyman and Smith. They were able to say on the sidelines (but not in public) what the leadership of the Church wanted and where the leaders stood. That was the most effective and potent appeal these "gumshoers" had during the administration of Joseph F. Smith, for the people only had to enquire of someone who was intimate with the President to learn that Republicanism radiated from him like the rays of the sun. I want to make it clear that Lyman and Smith soon had religious officials all over the territory acting as Republican cohorts who peddled what Lyman and Smith said in private. It was a real underground movement that Democrats could not very well combat. I never heard of Presidents Woodruff and Snow going out of their way privately or otherwise to help Democrats or even to stay the progress and success of that underground movement. Gumshoers had a very clear field, except that we who were Democrats and in dead earnest against what they

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<sup>40</sup> Undated memorandum, Box 8, fd 9. See S. George Ellsworth, "Utah's Struggle for Statehood," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 31 (Spring 1963): 60-69; Richard D. Poll, "A State is Born," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 32 (Winter 1964): 9-31; Howard R. Lamar, "Statehood for Utah: A Different Path," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 39 (Fall 1971): 307-27; E. Leo Lyman, *Political Deliverance: The Mormon Quest for Utah Statehood* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1986), pp. 255-95.

<sup>41</sup> Undated memorandum, Box 8, fd 9.

were doing damned them, and when it was too late to stem the tide, finally brought them into some disrepute with independents as well as good Democrats.<sup>42</sup>

But Presidents Woodruff and Snow did not really serve long enough to interfere with this division movement. Snow also was a Democrat as I believe were all of the other leaders except maybe Joseph F. Smith. He claimed to hate the Democratic Party for the ill-reasoned fact that a Democratic governor violated his pledge to his father and permitted a mob to kill him. That was a dastardly, intolerant thing indeed, but it was a poor excuse for becoming Republican. Nevertheless, I never heard of Joseph F. being Republican or that way inclined until after the division movement was started. I repeat, the only men I ever heard of in the Church being Republican before the division movement were ex-Whig Daniel H. Wells and the runaway boy, Frank J. Cannon.<sup>43</sup>

The result of all of this was that with the combination of the Church leadership with that of the Republican Party leadership the old hatred of the carpetbag government was eliminated, and carpetbaggers and Church political leaders soon became beloved bedfellows. This enhanced the prospect of the Republicans becoming dominant in Utah rather than the Democrats who had liberated the people from the sufferings and humiliation of carpetbag rule. That a great injustice to the Democratic Party was perpetrated there is no question, and that ingratitude was boldly and coldly exalted there is no question.<sup>44</sup>

### A Review of Ingratitude

A review of that ingratitude will illustrate my point. The excitement and indignation that were created throughout the

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<sup>42</sup> Memorandum dated Aug. 1945, Box 12, fd 4. "Gumshoer" is an American slang term applied to one who behaves surreptitiously.

<sup>43</sup> Memorandum dated Nov. 1944, Box 1, fd 3. See Keith Huntress, "Governor Thomas Ford and the Murderers of Joseph Smith," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 4 (Summer 1969): 41-52. See also Joseph F. Smith, *Another Plain Talk: Reasons Why the People of Utah Should be Republicans* (Salt Lake City: Republican Central Committee, 1892).

<sup>44</sup> Undated memorandum, Box 8, fd 1. See G. Homer Durham, "The Development of Political Parties in Utah: The First Phase," *Utah Humanities Review* 1 (Apr. 1947): 122-34; Stewart L. Grow, "The Development of Political Parties in Utah," *Western Political Quarterly* 16 Supplement (Sept. 1963): 39-40.

nation through the anti-polygamy crusade were such that the ordinary citizen of Utah today could hardly conceive of a time when politics concerned itself so much with morality. The evangelical gentlemen were no doubt sincere, but they became fanatical and lost their sense of balance in their uncharitable efforts. The reading of the *Salt Lake Tribune* alone during that period demonstrates that there was no fundamentally American political principle that they would not have sacrificed to achieve their ambition and determination to secure the political control of the Utah Territory and the destruction of Mormonism. They would not only deny statehood but disfranchise themselves of their right to exercise any of the most fundamental elements of self-government. They were worse (if possible) than those irresponsible carpetbaggers sent from Washington to rule Utah. Not a few of them placed no limit on the executive and judicial action they would take to secure for the minority control of the majority and to deprive the majority of its most fundamental political rights.

President Taylor said, in reviewing the approaching storm in April after the Edmunds Act of March 1882, some stormy things, one of them that Mormons had "not learned to lick the feet of oppressors, or to bow in base submission to unreasonable clamor. We will fulfill the letter, so far as practical, of that unjust, unhuman law." (I have often wondered what President Taylor would have thought of President Woodruff's Manifesto.)<sup>45</sup>

It was a highly volatile situation, but President Cleveland refused to sign the Edmunds-Tucker Act, 1887, made to supplement and implement the Edmunds (anti-polygamy) Act of 1882. I am led to wonder why the Mormon leaders have made so little or comparatively little of this wise and courageous American who gave to Utah the boon of statehood for which they had ardently prayed and looked forward to in vain under nearly half a century of Republican rule. Like the Israelites of old, they had longingly looked forward to it for forty years in a wilderness of despair. I have wondered if a Republican had given Utah that priceless but ordinary American privilege of local self-government, what would

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<sup>45</sup> Memorandum dated Dec. 1944, Box 1, fd 4. See Taylor's lengthy and volatile conference address of April 9, 1882, *Journal of Discourses*, 26 vols. (London: Latter-day Saints' Book Depot, 1854-86; reprint ed., 1967), 23:47-68.

have been his place in the worship of our heroes or great men. But President Cleveland granted statehood because of his respect for the chief cornerstone of Democratic principles—states rights, or the right of man to govern himself in all that pertained to domestic affairs, consistent with the maintenance of a federal or general government for the American Union.

President Cleveland had an abundance of courage even to refuse to sign the Edmunds-Tucker Act of 1887, to say nothing of not only signing but promoting the passage of the Utah enabling act when the sentiment of the country (and especially the orthodox religious element) was so aroused against the leadership of the Mormons. The previous Republican leadership and administrations from Fremont down to Harrison would not have granted statehood to Utah. No encouragement for it ever came from any Republican President. Yet Cleveland did it in the face of the same pressures and some day will be adequately honored with a statue in front of the state capitol or I mistake the good sense and patriotic instincts of Utahns. How I would like to see that day.<sup>46</sup>

The chief reason for not getting statehood from a Republican administration was the universal belief of Utah's pioneer stock and their friends in the Democratic doctrine of states rights—the right of local self-government in purely local and domestic affairs. And probably still more potent was the belief that the population of Utah was universally and thoroughly Democratic.<sup>47</sup>

Cleveland's action transformed Utah from a religious, political, financial, and social pesthouse of the bitterest conflict to a place of peace, social, and religious composure and comparative harmony, financial prosperity, and normal political unity. For example, R. N. Baskin, the chief and most persistent anti-Mormon leader, was made mayor of Salt Lake City by both Mormons and non-Mormons. Henry W. Lawrence, the most prominent anti-Mormon apostate, was made county commissioner, and carpetbag Chief Justice Zane, who sent hundreds of Mormon leaders to the penitentiary, was made chief justice of the state or urged to accept the position. Both sides were reconciled. Both parties became dominated by the same Mormons and non-Mormons between

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<sup>46</sup> Memorandum dated Dec. 1944, Box 1, fd 4.

<sup>47</sup> Undated memorandum, Box 8, fd 9.

which there had been the greatest antagonism. The Republican Party and none of its Presidents had ever shown any signs of friendship, but Cleveland realized that the approach of statehood would make friends of the Mormon Church leaders when they saw it coming, but it was just the reverse. George Q. Cannon, always a Democrat, became a potent sponsor in making Utah Republican, or as he put it, making the Republican Party a real force in the politics of the state and thereby avoid having the misfortune of all Mormons in the Democratic Party and non-Mormons in the Republican Party.

This could easily have happened. The early migrations to Utah of non-Mormons were from the Republican states of the North, East, and Midwest, most all coming as did the federal officers down to 1885 from those sections. The federal officials and non-Mormons here then advertised the material advantages of the country, and prospects of non-Mormons controlling it, describing Salt Lake City as "once the mysterious capitol of a theocratic kingdom," and "one of the most cosmopolitan places on the continent, a resort for tourists, servants, statesmen, and scholars from abroad." The members of the Utah Commission came in 1882 with all the prevailing prejudices of the East against the Mormons, but even so, after becoming acquainted with the people, two of the five in 1887, Ambrose B. Carlton of Indiana and General John A. McClernand of Illinois (both Democrats) submitted a minority report in favor of recommending statehood in which they reported both the intellectual and civic advancement of Utah.<sup>48</sup>

### **The Deal for Statehood**

If that all is true, what was the justification for such stultification, ingratitude, and deception in the face of gratitude that should be due the Democrats of the nation for giving the long-prayed-for freedom of sovereign statehood which had been so long denied by the Republicans and freely given at the first opportunity by the Democrats? The end justifies the means? Then what were the

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<sup>48</sup> Memorandum dated Dec. 1944, Box 1, fd 4. See U.S., Utah Commission, *Minority Report*, by A. B. Carlton and John A. McClernand (Springfield, IL: Springfield Printing Co., 1887); Stewart L. Grow, "A Study of the Utah Commission, 1882-96," Ph.D. diss., University of Utah, 1954.

means? I believe, without any positive, definite, or specific facts to justify my conclusion, that representative, potent men of the Church gave to individual leaders of the Republican Party in Congress the assurance that if they would support the bill providing statehood for Utah if Church leaders would (as they did) contribute their might to secure such a division on political lines in Utah as would give the Republicans a fair or good chance to control the state, if not to make it Republican. That apparent pledge may have been made because of fear of failure and the desire to make statehood certain. But it would at the same time have given to the Church leaders a dominating power in the state of the majority of *both* parties. I am morally certain that such was desirable in the minds of Church leaders. It is not in the nature of man to voluntarily yield the exercise of power. They had exercised that political power wisely as a rule, and it had proven profitable at least to the great majority of those governed under a local government that was practically a union of church and state. I assert with absolute certainty that it was a good and benevolent government, with extremely low taxes and salaries. In fact taxes were so low that improvements imperatively needed when the Liberals came into power justified a change in the city government of Salt Lake which was without water except as it ran down the street in open ditches and was obtainable in surface wells, and consequently no sewers, no street pavement, or graded schools. It required a revolutionary change and it was obtained only with greatly increased taxation and an extravagance of expenditures that alarmed the primitive pioneers, natives who were opposed to both debt and extravagance in government, as well as in their own affairs. There was a real clash of fundamental and opposing elements, but withal it resulted in progress.<sup>49</sup>

I was intimately associated with some of the leaders who were active in Washington as well as at home in getting statehood. It is significant that so many of these were Republicans, among them John Henry Smith and Joseph F. Smith. Brigham Young's son-in-law, Bishop Hiram Clawson, was something of a diplomat and was also involved. The only Democrats I recall now were Representatives John T. Caine; Charles M. Penrose, editor of the *Deseret*

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<sup>49</sup> Memorandum dated June 1943, Box 10, fd 1.

*News*; and Franklin S. Richards, Church attorney and leader of the Peoples Party. What is singularly important is that the Republicans were the most numerous, probably because they had the most difficult job if Republican votes were necessary. My conclusion has always been that the leaders of the Church wanted to make certain of what seemed within their reach. They agreed to effect a division of the Mormon people (who had always been on the Democratic side and believers in states' rights) that would insure for the Republicans an equal chance with the Democrats for supremacy. Having made that promise they proceeded to make it good in the only way it could be accomplished with the result that they, the leaders of the Church, honestly came to believe in Republican policies.

That the leaders of the Church had the welfare of the people at heart there is no question, but neither do I question that they became real partisans who, like myself, enjoyed tremendously victory for their party. I also think they were influenced just like other partisans are, but there is to my mind no question that there was some lack of that broad and deep comprehension of obligation and duty that they should have felt as Church leaders. In other words, they were like other men in politics. But ingratitude is base. I still think they should not have obligated themselves to do their utmost to make Utah Republican at its first election under statehood. If that obligation were required, then yielding to it increased the offense. I cannot believe they would do that, but I know the innocent, the confiding, the devout, and especially the over-religious were confronted and felt safe in following their religious "file leaders" into the Republican Party. The result was that the more religious as a rule did become Republicans. Those who remained Democratic were very generally of the more independent class.<sup>50</sup>

I knew many who were as ardent in their Democratic sympathy and belief as I was one day, and on the next were announced as Republican candidates for office. I believe many were influenced by the belief that most of the influential churchmen were going Republican, which would make that party dominant. It was a fact that very many religious leaders who were too sincerely Demo-

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<sup>50</sup> Memorandum dated Dec. 1944, Box 1, fd 4.

cratic to change their politics simply kept quiet through all of this because they wanted to avoid displeasing the Brethren. I believe Heber J. Grant was one of these, though he did at times speak his mind, and to his credit he did denounce the Federal Bunch for their opposition to prohibition.<sup>51</sup>

I think additionally that the Valley Tan doctrine Brigham taught of supporting home industry had a real influence in favor of the Republicans because of their doctrine of the protective tariff. Brigham, like my grandfather Daniel Wood and old Nauvoo Mormons, believed in “free trade and sailors’ rights,” but Valley Tan production of Utah was a purely local matter. Its support was advocated because the people tended to prefer eastern manufactures. They were more elegant and fashionable. Our Valley Tan leather was tanned at home. Our shoes and boots were made by our own shoemakers in their homes and the industry the Church created. But many people associated Valley Tan with products of eastern factories and believed that as Valley Tan should be encouraged so should the eastern factories be protected against English competition by a protective tariff. The two were very different, but the average Mormon could not see that difference.<sup>52</sup>

### **To Wilford Woodruff**

On at least one occasion I should relate, I protested to the Brethren over the gumshoers and their actions. During an interview with Wilford Woodruff, Joseph F. Smith, and John Henry Smith, I presented the charge of the Democrats that Francis M. Lyman and John Henry Smith had made it their business while acting as Apostles and visiting Church conferences and priesthood meetings to put their big arms and bodies around Church leaders and influential members after meetings and urge them to follow their file leaders and become Republicans when they knew the parties approached were Democrats, or would be if left alone. This so aroused John Henry that he interrupted me, but President Woodruff was fully equal to the situation and promptly said

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<sup>51</sup> Memorandum dated Aug. 1943, Box 10, fd 2. See Roper and Arrington, *William Spry*, pp. 81-86, for a brief survey of the liquor control controversy of 1909.

<sup>52</sup> Memorandum dated Aug. 1945, Box 12, fd 4. See Brigham Young, sermons, *Journal of Discourses*, 9:32-35, 10:201-205.

emphatically, "Brother John, the gentleman has the floor. Do not interrupt him." But the charge was never answered.<sup>53</sup>

Because of this kind of an experience, I never lost my great respect and love for President Woodruff. He had a fine adobe home of his own where the Interurban Railroad Station is now. It was sufficient enough that when the old Townsend House on the same corner a block south got out of date, they made a hotel out of it called the "Valley House." It became quite popular and was only two blocks away from the principal railroad station. The Denver and Rio Grande station was a block south and two west then.

At all events, President Woodruff was more completely at home in his little modest home at the farm, which is still standing. I was called there to advise him legally about his domestic relations when he was on the underground. In driving past not many years before, it was easy to see him hoeing corn or working at farming from the street. That was true when Fifth East was the only boulevard out of Salt Lake. It was the only speeding ground or the best one in Salt Lake for fast-trotting horses and pacers. I indulged my pacing horse there. The course ran from Ninth South to Twenty-first South.

Though polygamous households varied, they were of necessity plain and simple. Social grades and distinctions were not encouraged. People then lived on a plane and in greater uniformity. Necessity, utility, and simple comfort were the great considerations. I imagine President Snow took more kindly to luxury and social refinements because he had the appearance of the artistic and intellectual. Though spiritually minded, he was not comparable with President Woodruff who was distinctly spiritual. I enjoyed hearing Brother Woodruff. It flowed from him with a rapidity yet smoothness and naturalness that indicated impressive sincerity. To me, it came from him naturally with a ceaseless evenness that reminded me of a stream of clear water from an abundant spring.<sup>54</sup>

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<sup>53</sup> Undated memoranda, Box 8, fds 5, 7. The date of this interview is not clear from Moyle's notes, but it probably occurred in 1892 or 1893 during the height of the controversy over church interference in behalf of the Republicans.

<sup>54</sup> Memorandum dated May 1944, Box 10, fd 6. See Leonard J. Arrington and

### Early Utah Democrats

Regardless of the Church efforts to build up the Republican Party, it seemed to me that the best men in Utah were Democrats. The Utah Republicans had no figures comparable with Utah Democrats—all the leading public men of the state at the outset were Democrats. Rawlins, King, Roberts, and Thatcher had no Utah Republican counterparts of the same class. John Henry Smith did not compare with Thatcher or Roberts. Frank J. Cannon was as brilliant as any, but not as impressive or powerful as Roberts, and even he became Democratic later. Sutherland was a good speaker, but not as ready or fluent as William Henderson. Arthur Brown was not at all in O. W. Powers's class, though he was clever and effective, especially as a lawyer. Congressman Clarence E. Allen was not in competition with such as Rawlins, King, or Henderson. He did not last long either and was never first-class. Joseph Howell was just ordinary. It was Democracy in the formative period of politics in Utah that attracted the best political minds of the territory and young state. The Utah Republicans with Mormon origin, except possibly George Sutherland, were pretty much all handmade rather than seasoned or instilled in national party politics, principles, and policy.

Among early Democrats, King, Roberts, and Thatcher were the most outstanding. They had no equals except perhaps Orland W. Powers and Judge Henderson who were Gentiles. Fisher Harris, also a non-Mormon, flourished for a short time, but never reached greatness. Judge Thurman was not so outstanding and conspicuous but exhibited profound wisdom in his thinking and counsel, though slow in action and expression, with a vein of wit and humor. Franklin S. Richards was active and a good, sensible, and thoughtful speaker and leader. He distinguished himself as a political leader of the Peoples Party of the Territory and never really acted in the Democratic Party following the dissolution of the Peoples Party. He was hampered and his influence lessened by his being the leading attorney for the Church whose leaders were

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Davis Bitton, *The Mormon Experience: A History of the Latter-day Saints* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1979), pp. 161-84; Thomas G. Alexander, *Things in Heaven and Earth: The Life and Times of Wilford Woodruff, a Mormon Prophet* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1991).

increasingly interested in creating and promoting the Republican Party. I presume that is what led him to end frequently his statements in private discussions with "This is *subrosa*." His activities virtually faded out in the new organization even though he was conspicuous, able, and ever prominent in the organization of the Democratic Party. His brother, Charles C. Richards, was younger, probably more wily, resourceful, but always honorable and virile as a leader. He was the first Mormon presidential appointee of his time—secretary of the territory. He was and would have continued to be an outstanding Democratic leader of the first rank had he continued to play ball. His vital weakness was not lack of ability, but lack of adaptability, or the ability to harmonize and go along with other leaders with whom he differed but had to work with if he was to continue on as a vital force. His decline and retirement then was due to his own stiffnecked action.<sup>55</sup>

C. C. Richards did not remain active in politics very long after statehood. He was active in 1898 as the leader of the forces backing William Henderson for Senator and received votes in the convention himself for Senator that same year. He also led the fight for the primary election law which I did not oppose but had serious doubts about. It seemed to me that primaries were useful only in one-party states such as we have in the South.<sup>56</sup>

LeGrand Young, nephew of Brigham Young, was a highly respected Democrat of the more refined type. He was very pronounced in his views, but he was never very active as a working Democrat of the same period. Again, Heber J. Grant was always a pronounced Democrat in those days. When the tariff became a very prominent issue, and especially with the Church deeply interested in sugarbeets, he became a pro-tariff Democrat and has grown more so as time progressed and he became closely associated with leaders of what we call the "big interests" or "fat fellows," especially the big bankers and industrialists. His long directorship in the Union Pacific Railroad and leading business corporations of the state, and his natural interest in business and acquaintances with the great industrial leaders and bankers of the nation, have all made him more Republican than Democrat. Since his great

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<sup>55</sup> Memorandum dated Aug. 1943, Box 10, fd 3 (Item 3).

<sup>56</sup> Memorandum dated Aug. 1943, Box 10, fd 3 (Item 4).

virtue is frankness, he freely admits that while calling himself a Democrat he has generally voted for Republican candidates for President.<sup>57</sup>

### **The Rise and Fall of Joseph L. Rawlins**

I would like to say something more specific about two of these Democrats. Joseph L. Rawlins, a native son of the pioneers who had led successfully and brilliantly the fight for Democratic freedom and supremacy in Utah with the support of the first Democratic President since Lincoln, had as a regard for his inestimable accomplishment and leadership one term as United States Senator, and that was accomplished only with the aid of the Silver Republicans. In spite of all he had done, he was thus temporarily to be honored and elevated only to be made to fall the farther (when the deal was carried to its full fruition) into humiliation, obscurity, and oblivion. His disgust and disappointment was so great that he allowed himself to pass into oblivion, forgotten by those who gained most by his loyalty to Utah and brilliant statesmanship and devotion to liberating Utah from the serfdom and millstone-grinding under which her people had suffered so long, notwithstanding their persistent and unanswered appeals to the Republican administrations for thirty-six years to grant Utah the democratic right to govern itself that all its less-qualified neighbors had already received.

Rawlins made the manifest mistake that taught me my determination not to let disappointment, injustice, and ingratitude of others sour and kill my own soul and the achievement of the possibilities of that life. Rawlins could have achieved and accomplished much in the place of seeking seclusion and developing its souring, uncheerful atmosphere. I presume he concluded to let the unbiased, future historian record the merits he so richly earned for his posterity to read while he died in obscurity. His funeral was conducted with extreme modesty in his son-in-law's home in Salt Lake City, and his burial was without pomp.

I visited Washington during his one term in the Senate and

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<sup>57</sup> Memorandum dated Aug. 1943, Box 19 fd 3 (Item 3). See Frank H. Jonas and Garth N. Jones, "Utah Presidential Elections, 1896-1952," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 24 (Oct. 1956): 280-307.

spent some time with him in the lobby room at the entrance of the Senate chamber when the Senate was in session. He was then the chairman of the committee of the Senate that had charge of the measures affecting the all-important question of what we should do with the colonies acquired from Spain in the Spanish-American War. Was America to become an empire with a colonial system such as had been inflicted on Utah or worse? Rawlins was the Democratic leader on that most burning question while we thus sat in the lobby. Frequent interruptions were made in our conversations by Senators who came to be advised by their leader on that issue. I was accordingly impressed with his important leadership and his natural dignity that so well became the high place he held in the Senate and in the respect his fellow Senators held so manifestly for him. No man from Utah ever sat in the Senate with equal natural dignity doubled with fitting leadership on such an important and burning issue as our colonial policy was then.

Reed Smoot became quite as prominent as Rawlins, but he was not so outstanding as a leader on a burning issue, and not so eloquent. It is due Senator Smoot, bitterly as I opposed him, that he did rise to greater distinction in his field of national finance, but that was rather due to his long tenure in office, his indefatigable and persistent labor. He did the work behind the scenes for a long time burnishing the munitions for the fight, and finally did become chairman of the committee on ways and means that framed our present tariff. He did reach a position in the national Republican Party in the all-important permanent sphere of finance due to his plodding, persistent industry. I want him given full credit, notwithstanding my bitter partisan opposition to him. Senators William H. King and Frank J. Cannon were outstanding, brilliant speakers compared with Smoot, but neither made the record he did, or attained the outstanding leadership that Rawlins did in his one term.<sup>58</sup>

In conclusion, the state was ungrateful to Rawlins, the ablest statesman Utah ever sent to the Senate. He was head-and-shoulders superior to either Cannon or Brown yet was defeated for Senator

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<sup>58</sup> Undated memorandum, Box 8, fd 9.

immediately following his statehood bill. I feel that he should be honored more.<sup>59</sup>

### **The Rise and Fall of Moses Thatcher**

Finally, I have some thoughts on the case of Moses Thatcher, the fallen apostle. Moses Thatcher was reduced from a highest place in the Church and in the hearts of the people to the lowest because of his firm beliefs in the principles of Democracy and the Constitution of the United States. Anyone who has read his defense of his actions in defiance of his fellow apostles and then the story of his humble submission and acceptance of the terms upon which he was admitted back to full membership and fellowship in the Church will recognize his soul of steel, his intellectual superiority, and his dominating character. It is also a testimony of his firm knowledge of the divinity of the Gospel and compares with the stalwart testimonies of the three witnesses of the Book of Mormon who all left the Church but never denied their statements of the divinity of the book.<sup>60</sup>

Thatcher was a patriotic and brilliant intellect, a Jeffersonian Democrat of the first order who was loved by Democrats in Utah as no other man was, an Apostle of the Church of the first rank, and a leader intellectually second to none, but he permitted political ambition to so dominate his thinking that he lost the beam, the spiritual highway. He failed to affiliate, cooperate, and go along with his fellow members of the Council of the Twelve. Had he attended his council meetings when he could, I believe he would have been saved some of his illness, and much of the sorrow and humiliation that tortured his soul.

He asserted his right to act independently in politics without counseling with his brethren or obtaining approval or even seeking it. At the same time, Francis M. Lyman and John Henry Smith

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<sup>59</sup> Memorandum dated Aug. 1945, Box 12, fd 4. Rawlins was elected delegate to the House of Representatives in 1892 where he drafted the statehood bill for Utah. He was elected to the Senate in 1897 and was defeated for reelection in 1903.

<sup>60</sup> Memorandum dated Aug. 1943, Box 10, fd 2. See N. L. Nelson, *An Open Letter to Moses Thatcher* (Salt Lake City: Deseret News Publishing Co., 1897); Stanley S. Ivins, *The Moses Thatcher Case* (Salt Lake City: Modern Microfilms, n.d.); Moses Thatcher, *The Issues of the Times!* (Salt Lake City: Herald Publishing Co., 1892); *The Thatcher Episode* (Salt Lake City: Deseret News Publishing Co., 1896).

beyond the slightest doubt promoted the welfare of the Republican Party presumably by order of the President of the Church as well as their fellow members. It looked as if they had been selected to do the work of securing a political division on national lines *in favor* of the Republicans. If so, it was a violation of the pledge to keep the affairs of the Church separate from that of the state. It certainly did have that appearance. And Thatcher fearlessly charged that the Church had violated its word and upon that charge he took his unalterable stand.

If Moses Thatcher had counseled and sought approval of his taking part in politics and had been denied the privilege, what would have happened? I do not know, but I know that Thatcher believed in and was inclined to follow the rule of the majority even though he was nearly alone in his position.<sup>61</sup>

Another thing that brought about Thatcher's downfall was that he lived in Logan in the extreme north. He was never so closely associated with Church activities as some of the other Apostles, and at this time he was out of harmony with his Quorum and the President of the Church on many issues. In fact, it was known to not a very few that he was a user of tobacco and liquor, and to a very few, a still more objectionable narcotic. His friends claimed this was used as a medicine for his serious stomach trouble. His stomach trouble was serious, but the necessity for whiskey and tobacco was questioned and particularly the extent to which he used them. In view of the importance of the Word of Wisdom in the lives of Mormons and especially among their leaders, there is little in the ordinary conduct of a Mormon that is emphasized so much as the importance of keeping the Word of Wisdom and especially the non-use of liquor and tobacco. Keeping the Word of Wisdom and paying tithing are the two outward evidences of being a real Mormon. Honesty and morality go without saying as being imperative, but the Word of Wisdom is outward proof of Mormonism. I am satisfied that Thatcher could have appropriately and safely avoided very largely the use of liquor, tobacco, and narcotics, even though I have always viewed his weakness from a very friendly and charitable viewpoint. I agree with Paul that a little liquor may be good for the stomach and that was especially true

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<sup>61</sup> Memorandum dated June 1943, Box 10, fd 1.

in the 1890s. Scientists now know that there are better drugs than liquor or tobacco for the uses to which the two were then used. But I go back to the days of Moses Thatcher when it was generally believed whiskey was a good medicine for much more than snake bites. I was reared in the belief that good intoxicating liquor was a desirable thing to have in the house for colds, poison antidote, and a needed stimulation. Certainly it was beneficial for the latter. I know it was used by many of the orthodox, best Latter-day Saints to some extent as late as the 1880s and 1890s if not later, although its use in general was always depreciated and an effort made to avoid it. Nevertheless, I frequently heard Paul's saying quoted in private, and still do.<sup>62</sup>

There was, I believe, another extenuating fact in Moses Thatcher's drinking. He was of Virginian birth, and in Virginia in his time, like North Carolina in mine, most every farmer or his neighbor made moonshine or hard liquor most generally for themselves and friendly neighbors. The Thatchers had always used it, and I am certain that if Moses had only used it and possibly tobacco, for which there was much less excuse, purely as a medicine, it would have been overlooked had he otherwise continued in harmony and attended or obtained excuse for nonattendance at his quorum meetings. He undoubtedly excused himself when he attended business and political meetings, but he was in very poor health and also had some excuse on that ground. I say that because of the severe criticism he received for his nonattendance at quorum meetings.<sup>63</sup>

The humiliation and disappointment he suffered notwithstanding, he demonstrated his devotion to the Church and remained after it all a loyal and humble member of the Church, while those in the leadership of the Church who were actively opposed to his former course enjoyed all the honors of the high place he had held so long among the people. It did embitter him, but not sufficiently to break the bands and bonds greater than steel that bound him to the Church while life remained. To me it is evidence of the highest quality of the more than human influence and power

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<sup>62</sup> Memorandum dated Aug. 1943, Box 10, fd 2. See 1 Tim. 5:23.

<sup>63</sup> Ibid. Thatcher was born in Illinois.

that binds one to the Church who has what the Mormons call a knowledge of the divinity of the Gospel of Jesus Christ.<sup>64</sup>

Moses Thatcher's infirmities and natural taste for stimulants led him to this use of liquor, tobacco, and other habit-forming drugs which were clearly in conflict with the letter and spirit of the Word of Wisdom. The extent of that use I do not know but that it was enough to be inconsistent with his position as an apostle, or just as a member of the Church, is beyond question in my opinion. I saw him smoking a cigar in the presence of other Democrats in a conference at Logan when I was a candidate for governor in 1900. He was also apparently addicted to the use of opium or something of the kind, but it was claimed that he did it to deaden pain. That he lost much of the spirit of his religion by permitting personal feelings and antagonisms against George Q. Cannon and others is also unquestionable in my opinion. They were leaders in opposing political views and policies at a time when we were taking our politics much as seriously as we did our religion. The leadership of the Church was following a political policy to which he was bitterly opposed and so was I; namely, trying to make Utah Republican. That produced a friction with which he should have been able to deal more diplomatically. But it did antagonize on both sides. His conduct and action generally placed him out of harmony with his more prudent brethren (whether right or wrong). He finally rebelled to such an extent that his expulsion from the Twelve was inevitable and necessary at least from the point of consistency and harmony. He would not attend the quorum meetings or respond to their actions. Illness cut much of a figure in that, but he was adamant in his attitudes. Withal, much as I sympathized with him, I then concluded and have since been convinced that the action in deposing him was justified as the final actions of the General Authorities of the Church have been generally.<sup>65</sup>

Thatcher exhibited not only high intelligence and ability as a speaker but also a love of freedom, independence, and an outstanding courage and ability as a leader comparable with any. He and George Q. Cannon were the masters of political and opposing

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<sup>64</sup> Memorandum dated Aug. 1943, Box 10, fd 2.

<sup>65</sup> Undated memorandum, Box 8, fd 3.

views and policies among Mormons, the former in the open and the other most effective behind the scenes. Cannon sat on the Democratic side of the House of Representatives and he did not want openly to go back on the Democrats, but he saw the necessity of the people actually dividing on national political lines and its impossibility if he joined with Thatcher in promoting Democracy. That was made impossible for the reason also that they were personal antagonists rather than the devoted brethren their religious office and duties required. Again, Thatcher was out of harmony with the Quorum. Harmony in the work of the Priesthood was and is not only the watchword but guiding star of the Church. Their ambitions were both for the first place in the state, and neither could stand to take a place outside the Church second to the other. Cannon was never a Democratic idol and had never expressed himself or made himself outstanding as an exponent of Democracy in general. Thatcher, on the other hand, had to the fullest extent, and was an ideal Democrat in the minds of lovers of Democracy. Cannon, if ever ardent, had only expressed himself in moderate terms. I conclude that he was never a strong Democrat except on the doctrine of state sovereignty and that for more or less selfish and Mormon interests. He did not live in the hearts of the Mormon people as a Democrat as Thatcher did. Thatcher, in fact, was as magnificent a Democrat as there was in the territory.<sup>66</sup>

I was also a Mormon Democrat during these years. And it was not an easy thing to be.<sup>67</sup>

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<sup>66</sup> Memorandum dated Aug. 1943, Box 20, fd 2.

<sup>67</sup> Memorandum dated Aug. 1943, Box 8, fd 3. See also for the period of this chapter the following: Gene A. Sessions, ed., "A View of James Henry Moyle: His Diaries and Letters," unpublished manuscript, 1974, CLA, p. 32; Jean Bickmore White, "Utah State Elections, 1895-1899," Ph.D. diss., University of Utah 1968; R. Davis Bitton, "The B. H. Roberts Case of 1898-1900," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 25 (Jan. 1957): 27-46; David B. Griffiths, "Far Western Populism: The Case of Utah, 1893-1900," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 37 (Fall 1969): 396-407; undated memoranda, Box 6, fd 2; Box 8, fds 3, 66; memorandum dated May 1943, Box 10, fd 1; memorandum dated Aug.-Sept. 1943, Box 10, fd 2; memorandum dated May 1944, Box 10, fd 6; memorandum dated Sept. 1945, Box 13, fd 1; Noble Warrum, ed., *Utah Since Statehood, Historical and Biographical*, 4 vols. (Salt Lake City: S. J. Clarke, 1919), 1:1-120.

## Chapter 6

# A MORMON POLITICIAN

### Under a Cloud

I was under a cloud religiously from the early 1890s to the breaking up of the old Salt Lake Stake into four city stakes and two county stakes (making six out of one) in 1904. This occurred when Angus M. Cannon retired as president. During the latter part of Angus's administration, he was softening and more appreciative of me, but he never recognized me publicly as before the break. When the new stakes were formed, I was made a high councilor in the Ensign Stake, and while such was made president of the Eastern States Mission in January of 1929. Since then it has been clear sailing, except when the *Deseret News* violently attacked Roosevelt editorially in 1936 about which I will say more later. There were other occasions, but I think my being under a cloud during the 1890s and early years of this century was completely due to my outspoken opposition to what seemed to be the political (Republican) policy of the leadership of the Church.<sup>1</sup>

I want to preface my remarks about that. It is passing strange, but not difficult to understand, that even David of old, so very

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<sup>1</sup> Memorandum dated Aug. 1943, Box 10, fd 2; James Henry Moyle Collection, Library-Archives, Historical Department, Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City, hereinafter cited as CLA. All references hereinafter to box and folder (fd) are for items from this collection. See Joseph Fielding Smith, *Essentials in Church History*, 24th ed. (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Co., 1971), p. 602, on the reorganization of the Salt Lake Stake in 1904.

blessed, fell to the lowest depths of depravity when he responded to the demands of that human instinct with which all men are blessed and cursed and which led him to the crime of murder and adultery. At the same time it shows that he respected the law and sought to honor it only in its outward observance and not in its spirit and purpose. His life was the greatest example of how goodness and baseness may occur in the life of the same soul. I am impressed with the truthfulness of the Bible and that those who wrote it were devoted to the truth. It is more than possible that they lived in a grosser age than ours and that the baseness and degradation of David's action was not then viewed in the light of today. Otherwise, they might have felt that the good of the cause would justify the elimination from history of that story, just as I am advised to eliminate that which has occurred in my life in order to avoid discrediting great and good men with whom I came in contact and conflict, and just as I may eliminate the exposure of my own weaknesses in my writing about my own past, and magnify my virtues if I have them. The only determination at which I can honestly arrive is to do the best I can in my own weakness, but never if possible fail to present courageously the facts that would enlighten those who are entitled to know the truth. Let the truth aid them in avoiding the errors of others.<sup>2</sup>

As to activities in political affairs of Church authorities, I have never said they did not have the right or that they should be deprived of the right. I must not hesitate to say, however, that I do not believe in it or think it wise, and believe it is detrimental to the unity and harmony that should exist in the Church.<sup>3</sup>

### **Periods of Church Politicalism**

I cannot help contemplating what has happened and what might have happened if the leadership of the Church had not interfered in politics—not altogether openly but in private expressions of what should be and what should not be. Those expressions were conveyed to susceptible voters by those who were denounced by me and many others as Republican gumshoers, underground conveyors of the word and alleged will of God that the Republicans

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<sup>2</sup> Memorandum dated Dec. 1944, Box 1, fd 4.

<sup>3</sup> Memorandum dated Aug. 1943, Box 10, fd 2.

should win. That was most notable in the administration of President Joseph F. Smith (October 17, 1901, to November 19, 1918). His counselors were John R. Winder, a good Democrat and fine man, and Anthon H. Lund, a Republican and most excellent man, but neither were men who would say or do anything in opposition to the President even if they felt strongly. But then, all General Authorities are extremely deferential to the President on the theory that he is a Prophet of God. Winder died March 27, 1910, and John Henry Smith filled the vacancy as second counselor. He was a robust, likeable, but cantankerously partisan Republican who openly espoused the cause of his party.

John Henry Smith died October 13, 1911, and Charles W. Penrose, a splendid Democrat, succeeded him. Penrose had plenty of courage, but he was helpless. Then Heber J. Grant (November 23, 1918) became President with Lund and Penrose as counselors. Then followed a period of noninterference in politics, especially when Anthony W. Ivins became second counselor on the death of Lund in March of 1921. He was a beloved cousin of the President, a far-seeing clear thinker and able man, and just as good a Democrat as any. He became first counselor following the death of Penrose (May 16, 1925). That condition continued so long as Ivins was counselor or until J. Reuben Clark filled a vacancy in the First Presidency in 1933. Then a clear change soon took place, but that is a subject for later discussion.

President Woodruff (1887 to 1898), who preceded President Snow, was a Democrat and honored me with calls for legal advice. He was in no sense unfriendly to me and yet tolerated the activities of Francis M. Lyman and John Henry Smith. The policy then was clearly Republican, but there were good Democrats in the Presidency from the death of George Q. Cannon in 1901 until J. Reuben Clark. Grant, Penrose, and Ivins were all good Democrats, except for Grant's affiliation with the big financiers and J. Reuben Clark. Until Clark there was no Church interference in politics in Grant's administration, because Ivins was the one man who would not stand for that. He had a real influence with President Grant, but after the death of Ivins and during the Clark period, noninterference was a thing of the past.

So far as I know, President Snow was not especially partisan. I presumed he was a Democrat, but never knew just what his

politics were. I had practically nothing to do with him except during the foreclosure of the Deseret Savings Bank. I know he made himself popular with Senator Tom Kearns and his *Salt Lake Tribune* by somehow aiding in his election. Kearns was another who became Senator with no qualifications for the office except a good supply of common sense and plenty of money obtained from the discovery of the Silver King Mine at Park City. He had been a common, uneducated miner. Snow followed the course in vogue during the Woodruff administration to work so far as politics was concerned through George Q. Cannon, the chief intellectual and politician of the Taylor, Woodruff, and Snow administrations. J. Reuben Clark seems to have a similar role during the latter part of Heber J. Grant's regime.<sup>4</sup>

#### Fight for the Senate, 1898

I contributed to Cannon's political Waterloo in the legislature of 1898 when he and Moses Thatcher fought each other for the Senatorship. I had supported Joseph L. Rawlins, and his subsequent triumph secured for me Rawlins's friendship thereafter and led him to nominate me for the Senate. Cannon lost prestige when he tried to use religious pressure to induce old-time loyal Democrats to vote for his election to the Senate as a Republican. This was an arch inconsistency which inevitably led to his downfall. The political ambition of Thatcher, also an apostle of the Church, cost him his apostleship and standing in the Church that he valued as highly as life itself. So both met an inglorious defeat in the legislature of 1898, and clearly demonstrated the futility of even great men attempting to be both political and ecclesiastical leaders at the same time in a government where political parties are controlling and voters divide on political lines and religion is not involved. The lesson was profound: He who feeds upon the exercise of power develops an appetite and a love for it, and for the exercise of greater power, and never voluntarily yields that exercise to another. The Church leaders did not seem to recognize the truth when they were inspired with political ambition, or when

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<sup>4</sup> Memorandum dated July 1945, Box 12, fd 3. See O. N. Malmquist, *The First 100 Years: A History of the Salt Lake Tribune, 1871-1971* (Salt Lake City: Utah State Historical Society, 1971), pp. 178-91.

they involved themselves in politics in a more general way. In America politics and religion should never be entangled. If there is one thing more than any other that I have recognized throughout my life, it is that simple fact, and my record thereon is one of my greatest sources of pride.<sup>5</sup>

I was chairman of the State Democratic Committee in 1898 that overwhelmingly elected state and legislative officers, and that legislature was so nearly all Democratic that it became entangled in a deadlock over the election of a United States Senator. A large majority of the Democrats were pledged to A. W. McCune. During the last hour of the legislature, when all other resources had failed, the Democratic members caucused and asked Senator Rawlins to name the man for whom they should vote in order to break the deadlock. To my surprise, he nominated James H. Moyle, but there was just a sufficient number of those who were hog-tied to McCune to prevent the election, and McCune, notwithstanding the importunities of his friends and many of his supporters, refused to release his votes, although he always professed to be a friend of mine.<sup>6</sup> My chances also suffered when Aaron F. Farr, Moses Thatcher's father-in-law, charged without the slightest justification in truth that I had conspired for the nomination. The simple truth was that Rawlins had been asked to name the man for them to vote for because the hour of midnight (Saturday) approached. It had been agreed after days of deadlock that the long legislative day could not be extended thereafter.<sup>7</sup>

When Cannon died in 1901, and Moses Thatcher went into oblivion, there was an apparent end to ecclesiastes aspiring to high office in Utah where that rule had previously prevailed. B. H. Roberts's untimely political experience also contributed to it. Strangely enough, both Roberts and Thatcher were strong and sincere advocates of the separation of church and state, and both had the leadership of the Church against them and they antagonized the leadership of the Church in politics. The denunciation

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<sup>5</sup> Memorandum dated July 1945, Box 12, fd 3.

<sup>6</sup> Memorandum dated Mar. 1932, Box 9, fd 3.

<sup>7</sup> Memorandum dated Sept.-Oct. 1942, Box 9, fd 6. See Stewart L. Grow, "Utah's Senatorial Election of 1899: The Election That Failed," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 39 (Winter 1971): 30-39.

of Apostle-Senator Smoot by B. H. Roberts in the Salt Lake Theater when I was chairman of the meeting exceeded that of all others. And he meant it. It was purely political with no mention of religion or religious office. He charged Smoot with having befouled his own nest and having pinned the scarlet letter on his mother's breast, meaning thereby his polygamous birth and his mother, a plural wife, which relationship the Senator had dishonored by his repudiation of polygamy.<sup>8</sup>

### The 1900 Governor's Race

I was nominated for governor in 1900 on the second ballot, with the combined opposition of George W. Thatcher, brother of Moses Thatcher, and at a time when Moses Thatcher was the leading person in the party, and Aquila Nebeker, also a candidate, who was president of the State Senate and a strong, popular man.<sup>9</sup> I always received generously any nomination I sought from the Democratic Party. In fact they were all but unanimous both for governor twice and Senator once, except that first time (1900) I ran for governor. George W. Thatcher was also a son-in-law of President Brigham Young, prominent businessman, and leader in the building of the Utah Northern Railroad from Ogden north through Cache Valley to Idaho. The other, Nebeker, was a colorful rancher from Laketown whose wholesome, appealing figure clothed in the best ranch outfit, with a heavy fur overcoat and broad-brimmed hat, could frequently be seen on Main Street and was greatly admired by those who knew him. He later became United States Marshal for Utah and distinguished himself in that office.<sup>10</sup>

When a candidate for governor in 1900, I consequently had the opposition of Moses Thatcher, because I had supported Rawl-

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<sup>8</sup> Memorandum dated July 1945, Box 12, fd 3. See Milton R. Merrill, "Reed Smoot, Apostle in Politics," Ph.D. diss., Columbia University, 1950, pp. 132-34. See also the various derivatives from Merrill's 520-page dissertation: "Theodore Roosevelt and Reed Smoot," *Western Political Quarterly* 4 (Sept. 1951): 440-53; *Reed Smoot, Utah Politician* (Logan: Utah State Agricultural College, 1953); "Reed Smoot, Apostle-Senator," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 28 (1960): 342-49; "Reed Smoot, Apostle in Politics," *Western Humanities Review* 9 (1954-55): 1-12.

<sup>9</sup> Memorandum dated Mar. 1932, Box 9, fd 3.

<sup>10</sup> Memorandum dated Sept.-Oct. 1942, Box 9, fd 6.

ins for the Senate in 1896 when Thatcher was a candidate, and had defeated his brother for the nomination in 1900. It had been a very bitter fight on Thatcher's side. When I went to Logan, Thatcher's hometown and special bailiwick where his influence was dominant and Democratic, I was presented with a statement from the county committee demanding that I pledge myself to make no appointment affecting Cache County without the approval of the Thatcherite county committee. Such action would normally be in line with his policy, as he was a real party man, but its obvious purpose was not the welfare of the party or county, but solely to insure the exclusion of any honor or office being conferred on a non-Thatcher man, which would eliminate some of the best men in the county and especially my real supporters in the county. My answer was in harmony with my life's ideals: "If I am ever governor, I will be the governor untrammelled. You can rely on my having the welfare of the party at heart and acting accordingly, but no one will dictate to me what I shall do. I will be damned if I will not be a free governor." The result was that one of the safest Democratic counties came near going Republican.

#### **Threat to Utah's Democratic Party**

When I ran the second time in 1904, Moses Thatcher was evidently sorry and was so enthusiastic for me that he had to be urged to be more moderate.<sup>11</sup> The same men and violent enemies in 1900, then, were over-zealous in my behalf in 1904, and the most conspicuous among these was Moses Thatcher himself.<sup>12</sup> Thatcher was very active in 1904 in my campaign for governor in Cache County. He tried very hard to make up for his opposition in 1900. But it is also true that he no longer took a big part, because he was out as a top man.<sup>13</sup>

Notwithstanding Thatcher's added support, I again went down in the defeat the Democrats sustained during the campaign of Alton Parker for President. The party was greatly injured by its own disunity (from 1898), and by the support given to the Republicans by the leadership of the Church. The trend of national

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<sup>11</sup> Memorandum dated Sept.-Oct. 1943, Box 10, fd 3.

<sup>12</sup> Memorandum dated Sept.-Oct. 1942, Box 9, fd 6.

<sup>13</sup> Memorandum dated Sept.-Oct. 1943, Box 10, fd 2.

events was also greatly against the Democratic Party, so much so that in the following election of 1908 the Democrats failed to carry a single county in Utah, and elected only two members of the state house of representatives and two or three unimportant and scattered county officers, whose election was chiefly due to personal popularity, or charitable sympathy.<sup>14</sup>

The Democrats were so depressed and disgruntled over events (that cannot be related here) that there was serious agitation for the disbandment of the party. This was the case with some of the very prominent leaders, so that in 1910 it was a serious question as to whether the party should be disbanded or not. I vigorously combatted any such proposition, and was therefore asked again to become state chairman, which I did, and the campaign resulted in the election of two state senators, a number of members of the lower house, and the carrying of a goodly number of counties. What was more important to the party, it was the beginning of the permanent rising popularity and growth of the party in Utah that has resulted in its becoming a worthy rival for the Republican Party, and is now claiming leadership in the state, having repeatedly elected senators and governors and even complete state and national tickets.<sup>15</sup>

### Campaign of 1914

As the campaign for the Senate of 1914 against Smoot approached, the party was down and pretty much out, but I was full of fight and entered the contest against the advice of friends with money like Colonel E. A. Wall, who had been a poor miner but was now a multi-millionaire. He said I could beat George Sutherland two years hence and he would back me for it, but that he would not waste money in an attempt to beat Smoot who was

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<sup>14</sup> Undated memorandum, Box 8, fd 1. Actually, only Washington County voted Democratic in both 1904 and 1980. The Democratic National Platform in 1904 included a plank demanding the extermination of polygamy and the complete separation of church and state, an indirect slap in the face of the church and Utah. See *The Campaign Text Book of the Democratic Party of the United States, 1904* (New York: Democratic National Committee, 1904), p. 21. See also Frank H. Jonas, "Utah: The Different State," in Frank H. Jonas, ed., *Politics in the American West* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1969), pp. 329-30.

<sup>15</sup> Undated memorandum, Box 8, fd 1.

believed to be invincible. I knew the contrary. And in addition to going all over the state and repairing the broken-down organization of the party, spending more than \$7,000, I guaranteed a bank loan to the county candidates for \$3,000 to be used in getting out the vote on election day with the further agreement that if they were not elected I would pay the entire amount. They were too uncertain to run the risk themselves. That made an obligation (as I recall) of \$10,000, which was the limit Congress allowed for such an expenditure.

I reorganized the party myself from Rich County to St. George. Simon Bamberger was the only Democrat of prominence who aided me, and with his auto and chauffeur we went to eastern and southern Utah. It was then that he caught my faith and vision and laid the foundation for his election as governor in 1916. On that trip, he offered to give me my choice of place in 1916 and offered to support my candidacy liberally.

I said to Bamberger on that trip that if I ever became governor it would be without obligation to anyone but the voters of the state. I would not be under obligation to anyone. Those were my sentiments and I adhered to them throughout. Even National Committeeman William R. Wallace put up no money in 1914 though he was well able to do it. He may have contributed a nominal amount, but the record was not preserved. Neither did the secretary of the committee, a businessman named Chauncey Overfield, offer any help, though he was a sincere friend always of mine, but not a large contributor. Wallace did no campaigning, in fact never did, and was not active in the campaign for me. I am told and believe he never was my friend. Even William H. King did no campaigning for me, and never mentioned my name in the few political speeches he made that did not interfere with his law business. He made no trips, except possibly one night to Logan, and I do not think he made that one solely for the committee. He made several speeches at and near Beaver when there for trial of a lawsuit, and I remember another at Ogden or nearby, but his activity was rare and did not interfere with his business. It was also his ambition to be Senator, but he too thought that Smoot could not be beaten, and that I would be handily defeated, and that would give him the chance to run in 1916 against George Sutherland, who was not especially popular.

He kept his good record, however, and realized what he hoped for. He was more of a politician than I was. Consequently, I did more hard, grassroots political work in the party than he did. His work was attending meetings and making speeches. That was where he shined.<sup>16</sup>

I say without hesitation or reservation of any kind that I would have defeated Senator Smoot in his bid for reelection to the Senate in 1914 but for the support Joseph F. Smith gave him. That support, of course, was not open, but through the *Deseret News* and other agencies at this command. President Smith let it be known that he believed there was a divine purpose in keeping the Apostle in the Senate. Had President Smith been living in 1932 and retained the political influence which he held in 1914, the Senator would not have been defeated by one so obscure and unknown to the political life of Utah as the university professor, Elbert D. Thomas, who suddenly appeared on the political horizon and was not even a popular speaker. The fact was that Senator Smoot was not popular with the independent and thinking members of the Church of which he was an apostle. There is much in the accomplishments of Senator Smoot in Washington that is to be commended, but on the whole I feel certain his mingling political power with that of ecclesiastical authority was highly injurious to the Church and inconsistent with the pledge made by the Church leaders in obtaining statehood that they would refrain from political interference.<sup>17</sup>

The President himself was free in saying to the faithful *in private* what he thought and hoped would be done, but he was guarded in his public utterances. A favorite expression of his was that he thought little about a party whose President (Van Buren) had admitted that our cause was just but that he could do nothing for us. That, though true, was a fatal flaw in Joseph F. Smith's point-of-view. As I mentioned before, another point for both

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<sup>16</sup> Memorandum dated Mar.-Apr. 1945, Box 12, fd 2.

<sup>17</sup> Memorandum dated Sept. 1944, Box 1, fd 1. The voting was so close that on the morning after the election, Moyle believed he had been elected. After late counts in Weber and Washington counties, however, Smoot inched ahead and won. Jonas, "The Different State," p. 331, indicates that Moyle lost the 1914 election because of his aloofness that created an aura of arrogance. Moyle ran as the candidate of both the Democratic and the Progressive (Bull Moose) parties.

Joseph F. and John Henry was that a Democratic administration in Illinois had martyred their kinsmen. It followed that President Smith's idea that it was the will of the Lord that Reed Smoot should be the Senator from Utah was gumshoed about the state. Frequent reports of that were made. There does not seem to be any doubt that he believed Smoot's election to be the will of the Lord. And I can bear witness to the fact that the innocent Saints whose only thought was to do God's will were played upon, and they became carriers of the word to others of their associations. Once in 1914, my wife was introduced as the wife of the next Senator from Utah, James H. Moyle. A good sister of the Relief Society objected in broken English saying, "No, that is Brother Smoot."<sup>18</sup>

#### **Apostle-Senator**

I repeat, but for the influence of Joseph F. Smith and the Church, I believe I would have defeated Smoot in 1914. As it was, he served eighteen more years in the Senate, and the measure of good or ill to the Church and the state that resulted can hardly be assessed. I will say in his behalf that without education, training, or previous political experience, and in the face of the bitterest and most unrelenting opposition based upon bigoted religious persecution, he stepped into the United States Senate and made himself one of the real leaders of his party. Smoot did all of this without any apparent talent or native brilliance, but solely by the application of untiring and unfailing work. It was said of him that he possessed an uncanny ability to work with figures; this resulted in his becoming influential in the fields of the tariff and governmental finance. He thus became chairman of the powerful Ways and Means Committee and a chief author of the famous Smoot-Hawley Tariff that still remains in force notwithstanding its many iniquities. I tend to believe the common charge that it was one of the chief causes of the greatest of all wars, World War II, under which the entire earth is now suffering the greatest travail. So was there a divinity in it all?<sup>19</sup>

<sup>18</sup> Memorandum dated July 1945, Box 12, fd 3.

<sup>19</sup> Memorandum dated Aug. 1943, Box 10, fd 2. See Gene A. Sessions, "A View of James Henry Moyle: His Diaries and Letters," unpublished manuscript, 1974, CLA, pp. 86-88, 1-14; Merrill, "Smoot," pp. 130-32.

Smoot undoubtedly brought the Church into greater notice and ultimate popularity, at least in governmental circles. He had survived personal and religious persecution and prejudice unparalleled at that time. His success, if it may be so termed, occurred in the face of the fact that he did not appear to be particularly spiritual or religious. On the contrary, he frequently spoke in the rough language of a partisan westerner, not seldom indulging in expressions of "Hell!" and "My God!" and so on. Certainly this kind of behavior was unsuited in my opinion for an apostle of our Savior and a dignitary of the Church as well as the nation. It is questionable whether the Senator ever demonstrated any degree of esthetics or refinement. He was reared in a religious atmosphere and imbibed in it, but he was a businessman first and a churchman second. He was never a preacher or religious scholar, nor did he devote himself to religious study in an absorbing way. He was rather essentially practical and disposed to deal in mundane facts instead of spiritual theories and philosophy.<sup>20</sup>

He was certainly a prominent member of the Senate and did much there for his people and constituents, especially in securing employment and official places for them. His office was more of a veritable employment agency than that of any other member of Congress from Utah ever was.

I have often wondered what I would have done in the Senate; would I have done as well as Smoot did? I have always worked hard and still do, because work gives me more happiness than anything else. I have no desire to cease working, yet I fancy that Smoot probably did more of it in the Senate than I would have done, and that probably I might not have done as well there as he did, but I am sure I would have done better than he did in some respects.

I really believed what I once said to him, that he had made me ashamed of my own partisanship.<sup>21</sup> Of one thing I am certain, and that is that though not a prominent official of the Church, I have devoted much of my time and thought to the Church and its principles, its philosophy, divinity, history (modern and ancient), and spent much time and money in research for a knowledge of

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<sup>20</sup> Memorandum dated Aug. 1943, Box 10, fd 2. See Sessions, "View of James Henry Moyle," pp. 86-88, 1-14; Merrill, "Smoot," pp. 130-32.

<sup>21</sup> Memorandum dated Aug. 1943, Box 10, fd 2.

its divinity. And I have received a knowledge of its divinity that I have proclaimed with greater enthusiasm and devotion than was ever exhibited by the Senator and Apostle of Christ. I trust that I may (if in error) be pardoned for that unnecessary and probably inappropriate comparison. It is prompted by the fact that I do not ever recall having heard of the Senator expressing a very religious testimony or heard from others of their having heard one. And this thought continually occurs to me: Was President Joseph F. Smith justified in permitting himself to be reputed among his people to be deeply impressed with the belief that Senator Smoot was engaged in doing the Lord's will in devoting himself to politics and so much partisan activity, rather than devoting himself more to his religious work?

I want it known that I have never said that Reed was not engaged in doing the will and carrying out the purpose of God, but it has been and is my belief that no Apostle of the Church should be so completely devoted to partisan political leadership or otherwise engage in that which appears to be so much of a union of Church and state; that a member of the Council of the Twelve Apostles of the Church should not make political office the predominating feature of his life. He should instead devote himself to unifying rather than dividing and antagonizing the brotherhood that should exist in the Church. That seems too apparent to me to be questioned. I cannot therefore resist the belief that Apostle Reed Smoot's unfortunate unhappiness and failure in his declining and final years will always be a wholesome and impressive lesson to any member of the Council of the Twelve Apostles and those similarly situated, because in addition to that failure and unhappiness, he was not loved and respected as he would have been had he devoted his life to his first and greatest responsibility. Its neglect brought its own punishment, which was certainly great and grievous. I hope it will be salutary and helpful to others, and if I am wrong, I will know the fact in time to correct my error—both in thought and action.

It is true that the Lord moves in a mysterious way sometimes, and that out of Smoot's apostolic course a good may come that is invisible to me, and a good sufficient to justify the injury done. In the face of all that and to be frank in completing my story, I am impelled to say that I am not sure there was not on the whole a

divinity involved in it all that will sooner or later become more manifest, for Reed Smoot filled a real mission and in many respects it was well done. It is human to err, and we are all guilty. And I should be more charitable than I am. I have bitterly opposed Reed Smoot and I did and do believe that opposition was justified. I would have done much better if I had used the butcher's meat ax less and the surgeon's delicate knife more. My weakness was that I used the implements at my command, and the resources I could use the easiest and best. It was not clever, but it was vigorous.<sup>22</sup>

Finally, let me say that notwithstanding my bitter opposition to the election of the Senator and the Church leadership activity that insured his election, I believe that leadership may ultimately have been justified because of the influence which Smoot exercised in the then dominant national party and in high financial circles. But I do not know if the good outbalances the ill effects of thus uniting Church leadership with partisan politics, something that was always offensive to my ideals and conceptions of public welfare.<sup>23</sup>

### William H. King

As to whether it would have been better for me to have been elected Senator or not has always been an unsolved question for me. I believe I took my defeats and disappointments like a man should and made the best of them. I wanted in the worst way to run in 1916 and would have done so if the party had made the call, but decided not to make a fight for it. But King was too bright and too good a politician to pass up the opportunity as I did. He cultivated his friendships and did not let the grass grow under his feet as I did. He joined with Bamberger in 1916, but I never blamed either for it. King deserved the prize and proved himself to be a brilliant speaker and a hard worker. He was also a consistent Democrat, except that he later fell by the wayside by being ultra-conservative and not loyal to Franklin Delano Roosevelt. He was even opposed to women's suffrage; President Wilson, through McAdoo, appealed to me to corral him and keep him in line. King

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<sup>22</sup> Memorandum dated Aug. 1943, Box 10, fd 2 (Item 5). See also memorandum dated Aug. 1943, Box 10, fd 2 (Item 2).

<sup>23</sup> Memorandum dated Oct. 1938, box 9, fd 4. See additionally on Smoot's career, Thomas G. Alexander, "Reed Smoot, The L.D.S. Church and Progressive Legislation, 1903-1933," *Dialogue, A Journal of Mormon Thought* 7 (Spring 1972): 47-56.

said to me that he would rather resign than vote for women's suffrage. I said: "You will, like a good little man, walk up and vote for it or go out of public life into perpetual oblivion." And he did, not on my advice but because he knew that a vote against it would be fatal to him.<sup>24</sup>

Senator King, when I was Assistant Secretary of the Treasury, opposed our efforts in the Bureau of Public Health to have government surgeons aid in extending medical service in backward states like New Mexico, where they had no public health service at all. We almost came to blows over the subject, and especially over having our surgeons go into such states to examine school children. His conservatism grew on him until he thanked God publicly for our Supreme Court when it was defeating New Deal reforms by its edicts and annulling constitutional laws by the decisions of the five reactionary members of the Court. He was loyal to his convictions, but he thought he saw further ahead than the rest of us who differed with him. He finally came to his senses in the 1940s and said it would be a godsend for the nation to have Franklin D. Roosevelt for the fourth term.

As to why I did not make a fight for the senatorship in 1916, I have often wondered. It has been something of a riddle to me. My conclusion has been that money was a potent reason and maybe the chief one. At any rate, there was clearly a divinity in it all for me. I believe the intensity of my feelings might have led me into a violent opposition to Church leadership in politics that might have been hurtful. Furthermore, I believe my family is better off. A good name and family are better than riches and fleeting honors. And I can say assuredly that my ending so far has been very satisfactory.

### Hard Experience

If I had been set on running I would have been nominated in 1916. I had the organization with me, having conducted two campaigns successfully. The third (1914), though unsuccessful, had lifted the party out of despondence into the sunshine of hope.

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<sup>24</sup> Memorandum dated Mar.-Apr. 1945, Box 12, fd 2. For a look at an interesting aspect of King's career, see Lawrence M. Hauptman, "Utah's Anti-Imperialist: Senator William H. King and Haiti, 1921-1934," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 41 (Spring 1973): 16-27.

I had practically financed singlehandedly the campaign in 1914; I had many favors I would have collected in 1916 even though the county officers spent some for their own campaigns. But I felt that it would be an injustice to my family and wife especially who always protested against my spending so much in politics, and she did not know how much I spent or the protest would have been greater. Even so, it was not only the money. In 1914 I spent about four months in the campaign, most of that time away from my office. My financial status did not justify the outlay of time and money when the prospect of success was good but far from certain. So I yielded in 1916 and left the way open for King. I am not so sure that it was not better for me and my family that I lost the honor. The cry that Wilson had to keep us out of war proved to be a winning slogan though we were in the war the following April and I became Assistant Secretary of the Treasury in the Fall. Secretary McAdoo, because of my campaign in 1914, I presume, and work done previously in the leadership of the party in Utah, selected me as the pivotal man of the state. He relied upon me when he was a candidate for the Presidency, not only in Utah but in Idaho and Wyoming also. McAdoo, as Senator, volunteered when I went to Washington in 1933 to go to bat for me anytime. He recommended me "without reservation" to Owen D. Young when the latter was in the heyday of his popularity. I have the letter now. I did not use that introduction; there was no favorable opportunity. But I valued the letter signature and held it in reserve in case I ever needed it. I would like to have had Owen D. Young as President and would have backed him to the limit. He might have been, but for his being head of General Electric. His political philosophy was mine and I admired his character and addresses.<sup>25</sup>

In all of this hard experience with the leaders of the Church I have seen in them so much of normal human weakness that at times it has been something of a trial of faith, but it was always in connection with their human side and not the spiritual and doctrinal sides which are the fundamental cornerstones of the Gospel. That leadership (strictly in religious matters) has always been one of consistent advancement. But the Church leaders have resorted at times to expedients and adopted policies in temporal affairs that

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<sup>25</sup> Memorandum dated Mar.-Apr. 1945, Box 12, fd 2.

have seemed to be erroneous or at least subject to fair criticism. When I come to recall them for deliberate analysis, however, years after with due cooling time, I find it difficult even to remember them. That is because errors made, being human, are soon forgotten. That was the case with the Prophets Joseph, Brigham, John, Wilford, Lorenzo, Joseph F., and now Heber J., who as the end of life approaches grows in general respect and high esteem. The only error I cannot forget is their desire to interfere in politics, a field in which they seem to want to operate in spite of their declaration of April 1907.<sup>26</sup> Should time justify them, it would be a real case of divine leadership not seen by men of my kind, and there are many of us very active in the Church. I know more about the last two presidents, particularly Heber with whom I have been intimate and (until after the death of his counselor Ivins) in agreement politically. Politics, and that alone, has separated me from both Presidents Smith and Grant, but as the mist clears and the sun shines more clearly in the life of Joseph F. Smith, I see the real man and his work standing out magnificently. It becomes clearer that the good outshines the bad (if such it may seem) which will be forgotten as minor error of man. As previously recorded, there were more complaints about Brigham Young in his later life than that of any of his successors. That was due to his having done more and entered more into the daily affairs of the people. He was closer to a greater percentage of the people. But today those complaints or faults seem mere mist the sunlight of truth and good has melted away. As to Brigham, I cannot even recall much adverse criticism worth mentioning. He has and will grow greater as time passes and so will Joseph F. Smith and Heber J. Grant, because they piloted the Church onward and upward, and the minor mistakes of the man, like the passing mist, will fade away.<sup>27</sup>

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<sup>26</sup> Memorandum dated Jan. 1945, Box 12, fd 1. The First Presidency (Joseph F. Smith, John R. Winder, and Anthon H. Lund) issued what it called "An Address—The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints to the World" in which it sought to enlighten the public concerning the real nature of Mormonism. Among the assertions of the sixteen-page pamphlet was a vow that the church was not involved in political affairs. Appearing separately and as an appendix to the April 1907 Conference Report, the "Address" was sustained as an official statement of the church in conference on April 5, 1907.

<sup>27</sup> Memorandum dated Jan. 1945, Box 12, fd 1.

Joseph F. Smith came down like Heber J. Grant from the pioneer period but was more or less modernized. Each was at home in both periods and with his surroundings. Joseph F. was highly spiritual and his mind was more studious than Heber's. He was also very wise in the considerations of business matters, but he was disposed to delve more into the depths of thought and the underlying philosophy of doctrine and the sources of spiritual life. His sermons on the hereafter and resurrection are the best I have ever heard—the most realistic, instructive, and satisfying. I believe he lived nearer the divine and thought more about it than Heber did.

President Grant thought more about figures and percentages, money values, business, life insurance and the insurance business. How he came to get along so well spiritually with all of this is hard to understand, for the bent of his mind like his conspicuous nose indicated that he was a kinsman of Israel, or at least of Judah.<sup>28</sup>

Both men were clearly sincere, honest, devoted Later-day Saints ready to make any sacrifice for the Gospel. Both, like all the rest, were human beings who at times exhibited human weakness, especially when their selfish interests were involved. Truthfully, sincerely, and deliberately I say that I know much concerning both men, especially Heber, and am perfectly satisfied that finer men could not be found and that each made a contribution to the Church and community that time will demonstrate was divinely inspired. I also know that neither did anything the Lord will not forgive or that I should not forgive, though both did that which I unqualifiedly condemn in politics. And Joseph F. did something to me in business that I thought and still think despicable.<sup>29</sup>

### **The Con Wagon Affair**

Early in 1914 I was beginning to contemplate the possibility of running for the United States Senate. At about this time I had been giving a good deal of service as counsel to the Consolidated

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<sup>28</sup> Memorandum dated May 1944, Box 10, fd 6. See Preston Nibley, *The Presidents of the Church* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Co., 1971), pp. 179-264.

<sup>29</sup> Memorandum dated May 1944, Box 10, fd 6.

Wagon and Machine Company, of which Joseph F. Smith was president. Con Wagon, as it was called, handled virtually all of the wagon and farm implement business in Utah and Idaho, so it meant quite a bit to me from the standpoint of my income. When you hit a man at his income it is quite critical, especially when he has the responsibility of a growing family. George Odell was another high official in Con Wagon. He was not a Mormon, but we were close friends and I used to discuss religion with him often, especially about his being a Christian Scientist, which was very fashionable among prominent people in Salt Lake at the time, and Odell's family was very prominent. His youngest daughter, for example, married Clarence Bamberger. I mention all of this to indicate the very close relationship I thought existed between me and influential officers in the company. Anyway, I went one time to a Con Wagon directors' meeting and was informed bluntly that I was to be succeeded immediately by President Smith's son-in-law, John F. Bowman of the firm of Stewart and Callister. It was obvious that there had been a prearranged deal, because a vote in favor of my replacement went through without any discussion. I was completely flabbergasted, because I could see that this had been done outside of the meeting. So I got up on my feet and made a speech, and I must have been particularly inspired by the injustice, because it brought tears to the eyes of these men. As I recall, I went over my desire to get an education and my desire to get it in a way that would not be too hard on my family. I also mentioned how the choice places such as West Point were reserved for such as Brigham's sons and how I had been thwarted by the Church which I held so dear. I ended by saying that I was prudently disappointed at what had been done, and that I would suffer financially because of the sudden termination of my work with the company. In spite of this speech they held to their decision and Bowman took over, but within the year they asked me to return because they were dissatisfied with his conduct as counsel. I accepted and resumed my old position, but I never got over the injustice I felt President Smith had done to me.<sup>30</sup>

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<sup>30</sup> Interview with Evelyn Moyle Nelson by Gene A. Sessions, 20 June 1974, transcript of twelve pages, CLA, pp. 1-3. This paragraph is Moyle's story of the affair as remembered by his elder daughter. There is very little on the details of the incident

In my opinion, it also caused him real grief, and he tried to ease his mind by being very nice to me shortly before his death. But his pride, I presume, kept him from making an open confession. He did so much good, and realizing my own weaknesses and need for pardon I forgive his failure to make it right. I do not think it would be possible for me to do what he did to me, but possibly I have done else for which I need charity. I am glad to say that I am not conscious of ever having done any human being a serious injustice. My tongue has given offense, but was sincere. Joseph F. did not at the time realize the full gravity of the injustice he did to me. I am proud of the fact that the injustice was soon corrected by others. No one ever attached blame to me concerning the matter.<sup>31</sup>

While I was Assistant Secretary of the Treasury and visiting in Salt Lake only a week or possibly two before President Smith's death, Apostle George Albert Smith met me on the street and said, "President Smith is a very sick man, and I am sure he would like to see you." So we went immediately to him. He was on a large sofa or bed bolstered up with pillows. He expressed his pleasure at seeing me, and said among other things, "I prophesied fifty years ago that our boys would become influential men in our government and you and Reed Smoot are fulfilling that prophecy." He said nothing about it, but I believe he had in mind during the interview the conflict we had in that 1914 meeting of the board of directors of the Consolidated Wagon and Machine Company. To my surprise, and that of George Albert and President Smith's son, George, who was there when we arrived, he asked me to be mouth in administering to him. George Albert said he did not remember of his asking such a favor of anyone excepting his counselors, the apostles, and those very close to him.<sup>32</sup>

### **The Liquor Deal**

One experience with President Smith in politics that rankled

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among the memoranda in the Moyle Collection, but the fragments would support Evelyn Nelson's version.

<sup>31</sup> Memorandum dated May 1944, Box 10, fd 6.

<sup>32</sup> Memorandum dated Dec. 1934, Box 9, fd 3.

me was the so-called liquor deal. On February 24, 1909, at the Salt Lake Theater, a Republican prohibition convention met and was largely attended. That convention charged that there had been an infamous and immoral political deal made with the saloon and liquor men to prevent statewide prohibition. It urged that the legislature (only two members of which were Democrats) not keep this "covenant with hell." The House subsequently passed the Cannon prohibition bill, but it was held up in the Senate by federal officeholders, notwithstanding the fact that more than 80,000 persons had petitioned the legislature for its passage. Joseph J. Cannon, the bill's sponsor, charged that a deal had been made before the legislature was elected to defeat any prohibition measure. Such men as Bishop Charles Nibley, Nephi L. Morris, and Apostle Hyrum Smith asserted that 90 percent of the people demanded prohibition, the women wanted it, the Church wanted it, and so on, and that only the Federal Bunch was preventing the enactment of the law.

Among the fifty men and women who called this prohibition convention and participated in it were such Republicans as Nibley, Morris, Smith, David O. McKay, David A. Smith, and Mrs. Emmeline B. Wells. Some time before, the *Salt Lake Republican*, the official organ of the Republican Party, had commenced an agitation for prohibition, but suddenly quit. Then the *Salt Lake Herald* was quickly purchased and merged with the *Republican*. There can be little doubt that this deal was financed with money secured from the liquor interests. This constituted the main reason for the charge of a Republican liquor deal which the convention so vigorously and violently denounced.<sup>33</sup>

Joseph F. Smith had no use for the Democrats, and was as partisan in my opinion as I was, only he did not talk politics publicly on many occasions. But no one interested had any trouble in finding it out. Even his ardent devotion to prohibition did not prevent him on this occasion from standing by in silence, or going to Hawaii, to avoid the issue, rather than denouncing the Federal Bunch for their selling the protection of the law to the liquor

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<sup>33</sup> Undated memorandum, Box 8, fd 2. See Larry E. Nelson, "Utah Goes Dry," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 41 (Autumn 1973): 240-57. See Malmquist, *First 100 Years*, p. 261.

interests for the thirty or forty thousand dollars that bought the *Salt Lake Herald*, the long-time organ of Democracy. That story should be told more fully.<sup>34</sup>

Any form of militant union of church and state can only injure both until the Redeemer of mankind comes to rule in righteousness and selfishness is eliminated. There is no doubt in my mind from the facts with which I was fully familiar that Joseph F. Smith, one of the finest and best of men, and so strongly inspired of God in so many ways concerning the vital interests of the Church, lowered his standard of righteousness and strained his conscience when he went to Hawaii to get away from the burning prohibition issue to which he was as devoted as any man. He left Utah to avoid having to deal with a message to Senator Smoot from his son, Apostle Hyrum Smith, President Bishop Nibley, and Stake President Morris, the committee appointed by the mass convention of Republicans protesting against the liquor deal. The Smoot leaders in the state were clearly throttling the legislature which was trying to pass a prohibition law. Senator Smoot sent his reply not to the committee but to President Smith and asked him to call off these prominent Church officials. That was an extraordinary and inexcusable action that smacked of using Church leadership to control high officials in politics. It is also true that the three men were not acting as Church officials but as Republicans. Morris soon after became a prominent Republican candidate for governor. Nevertheless, they were prominent in the Church. They were three shining lights in the Church and community.

Apparently, the liquor interests had previously turned over to the United States Attorney, a Smoot appointee, some \$30,000 in cash for the purchase of the formerly Democratic *Salt Lake Herald*, which was then comparable with the *Tribune* (Republican) and the *Deseret News* ("neutral"). This was done to deprive the Democratic Party of a newspaper organ. Additionally, the *Herald* had been fighting for prohibition, so the liquor deal effectively killed two birds with one stone and served both the liquor interests and the Smootites. It silenced at once a pro-prohibition and anti-Smoot newspaper. There was no excuse for the blessing of

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<sup>34</sup> Memorandum dated Nov. 1944, Box 1, fd 3.

Joseph F. Smith upon the Federal Bunch when they thus sold the state government to the liquor interest for its support and a small mess of pottage to enable the dominant political party of the state to buy a local daily newspaper for purely partisan advantage. He blessed the perfidy by remaining silent.<sup>35</sup>

The underhanded attempts on the part of Smoot and the Federal Bunch to gain and use the support of the wet forces in the state went on and affected my campaign against the Apostle-Senator in 1914. In this connection, the anti-Smoot forces printed a humorous series called "The Book of Smoot," an excerpt of which follows:

1. And it came to pass that during the reign of the great king Reed the Smoot, that it became necessary to put another one over.
2. And he called together the Scribes and Pharisees and the pussy footers and the conjurers and the sorcerers and a great company of those that seek for office, and the whisperers and the vote-changers.
3. And he said unto them: Verily have ye seen the wickedness of William the Spry towards the Prohibites who do murmur against him; for that which he hath done is not seemly.
4. For albeit, the great king was wroth because of the praises which the Mammonites, who were at war with the Prohibites, did sound of William the Spry, even with sounding brass and tinkling cymbals and the lyre and the psaltery.
5. And the king in his heart conjured against William the Spry, how he might destroy him, lest he finally usurp the kingdom.
6. For he knew that the Prohibites hated William the Spry for that which he had refused to do, to dry up all the land of Utah and to consume the wicked with thirst.
7. And straightway he called from among the Prohibites the chief centurions thereof and said unto them: "Ye know this wicked thing which William the Spry hath done. Therefore, whom shall I deliver unto You?"
8. And they cried with a loud voice saying: "William the Spry, deliver him unto us."
9. And the great king said unto them: "Be it even so."
10. And straightway the clackers began to clack and the quackers began to quack and the whisperers began to whisper and the

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<sup>35</sup> Memorandum dated Sept. 1944, Box 1, fd 1.

whackers began to whack. Then the swatters swatted him with the king's swatter both upon the ankle and on the wrist and marked upon him the figure of a goat; and they compassed him round about and smote him with the jawbone of a hinny, until he was a dead one.

11. This was in the days of King Reed, the Smoot.<sup>36</sup>

### Clean Skirts in a Muddy Street

In conclusion, Joseph F. Smith, throughout his long presidency of the Church, was persistently represented by the underground, rubber-shoed Mormon Republican Party leaders as wanting the Republicans to win, and they encouraged the campaign of underlings in circulating the thought that it was the will of the Lord that they should win or that Utah should be Republican. It was that un-American campaign carried on without any serious objection from the President of the Church, together with the popularity of the Republican protective tariff, that transferred political control of Utah from the Democratic to the Republican Party, even as Cleveland was giving Utah statehood in 1895. The defeat of the Republicans in 1896 was chiefly due to the popularity of free silver advocated by the Democrats under the leadership of William J. Bryan. When that subsided and the Silver Republicans returned to their party, and with the failure of the Democrats to elect a United States Senator in 1898 when the legislature was overwhelmingly Democratic, the Republicans again were triumphant in Utah to the extent that the Democrats in 1908 did not win a county in the state, and elected no member of the state senate and but two in the lower house and they barely got there. Many even wanted to disband as a party as a protest against ecclesiastical leadership in politics. Such was the transformation of Utah from the Democratic side to the Republican side at the very time that Utah was given statehood by the Democrats.<sup>37</sup>

I am yet proud of my own conduct through all of this. When

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<sup>36</sup> Undated print, Box 7, fd 6. This is chapter two of the series called "The Book of Smoot," which ran in *The Progressive* (Salt Lake City) beginning 10 October 1914. The Utah Progressives in 1914 endorsed the Democratic ticket in place of running their own.

<sup>37</sup> Memorandum dated Dec. 1944, Box 1, fd 4. See also memorandum dated Aug. 1943, Box 10, fd 2.

I conducted the Democratic state campaign in 1898, McCune, the multimillionaire candidate for the Senate, with whom I was very friendly, insisted on my using his money freely to insure the success of the campaign, and thereby have me obligated to him. I answered that all I asked from the party was \$7,500 and the direction of the political policy of the *Salt Lake Herald* in conjunction with Noble Warrum, its editor. I insisted that I would not spend more money than that sum. I determined that I would not be a party to selling a Senatorship for money or using it to secure votes, except in a perfectly legitimate and appropriate way. My skirts were to be kept clean.<sup>38</sup>

McCune offered again in 1916 to pay all the expenses of the campaign if I would run with him, I for governor and he for the Senate. That I could not do and be fair with Bamberger. Besides, McCune had done nothing in 1914, being active only when he wanted something. I said to him: "If I run it will be at my own expense." And I declined the offer. He had put up no money in 1914 and did no work at all. It was the showing I made in 1914 anyway that inspired him. He, too, had believed it impossible to win and dropped out after setting the party back. He and I had always been friends, and there had been no break between us, though he had prevented me from being Senator in 1898 by not releasing those pledged to support him. He was as cold-blooded about it all as the gambler he was. Though always a Democrat, he quit completely when he found he had no chance for his selfish satisfaction. He had so much money he did not need to count it. And he never after was helpful to the party notwithstanding his millions and promises that if he were not elected he would finance the *Salt Lake Herald* as a Democratic paper and build for it a fine plant on Main Street. That was his answer to me as state chairman when I charged him with wrecking the party.<sup>39</sup>

All that was in harmony with the course I had mapped out for my life, a determination to win my own self-respect and thereby that of others. That is today my greatest political satisfaction, a satisfaction that lasts. The usual conduct of a candidate would be

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<sup>38</sup> Memorandum dated Sept.-Oct. 1943, Box 10, fd 3.

<sup>39</sup> Memorandum dated Mar.-Apr. 1945, Box 12, fd 2.

by some compromise or other action to pacify the opposition, but my reply was to the effect that I would be damned before I would do it.<sup>40</sup>

In 1914 a few sheepmen voted for me, because Smoot and Republican leaders had predicted that the election of Wilson in 1912 would mean the destruction of their business, so in view of that and the Underwood Bill they sold their wool in 1913 on that theory at ruinous prices. I went to Washington in 1913 to protest against President Wilson's policy of placing a substantial high tariff on manufactured products of the East while leaving the products of the farms, ranges, and mines of the West unprotected. It clearly was undemocratic, and unfair. But that was the policy of Cleveland also. I was so Democratic, however, that my interest in livestock did not change my politics as it did others with rare exceptions. I always stood squarely with the party because of devotion to Democratic principles generally. I did so even when the party was long in the minority, and its prospects for success not assuring. I never had much use for fair-weather partisans in either party, and I can claim without reservation that I have stuck by my party and my principles.<sup>41</sup>

As to national politics during this period, I attended the conventions in Kansas City and Denver where Bryan was nominated in 1900 and 1908. I would have been elected national committeeman and attended the convention in Baltimore in 1912 and witnessed the nomination of the great Woodrow Wilson, but I took a trip to Europe to meet my oldest son, Henry, who was completing his three-year mission. I wanted so badly to see him there and return with him. I had in early spring, however, attended the Baltimore dinner of the Democratic National Committee in preparation for the 1912 convention. Additionally, I met and talked with Wilson at the Raleigh Hotel some time later. I was there as chairman of the state committee. In 1904, when Judge Alton Parker was nominated, I stayed home minding my

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<sup>40</sup> Memorandum dated Sept.-Oct. 1943, Box 1, fd 2.

<sup>41</sup> Memorandum dated Aug. 1945, Box 12, fd 4. In a move to moderate protectionism, the Underwood Tariff of 1913 lowered duties to an average of about 30 percent in contrast to the turn-of-the-century highs of nearly 60 percent. To the chagrin of westerners like Moyle, however, it placed iron, steel, wool, and sugar on the free list.

fences in the gubernatorial race. As national committeeman in 1916, I attended the convention which nominated Wilson the second time, and shortly thereafter I became a member of his administration.<sup>42</sup>

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<sup>42</sup> Memorandum dated Feb.-Apr. 1944, Box 10, fd 6. See additionally for the period of this chapter the following: Nelson Interview, CLA, pp. 7-9; interview with Sara Moyle Creer by Gene A. Sessions, 3 July 1974, transcript of nineteen pages, CLA, pp. 1-6; interview with James D. Moyle by Gene A. Sessions, 11 Aug. 1974, transcript of eighteen pages, CLA, pp. 1-7; Journal History of the Church, CLA, 18 Nov. 1910, p. 2; undated memorandum, Box 8, fd 6; memorandum dated Mar. 1932, Box 9, fd 3; memorandum dated Mar. 1943, Box 9, fd 7; memorandum dated May 1943, Box 10, fd 1; memorandum dated May 1944, Box 10, fd 6; memorandum dated Aug. 1943, Box 8, fd 3; memorandum dated Aug. 1945, Box 12, fd 4; Shipps, "Utah Comes of Age," 91-101; Noble Warrum, ed., *Utah Since Statehood: Historical and Biographical*, 4 vols. (Salt Lake City: S.J. Clarke, 1919), 1:121-93.



## *Chapter 7*

# ASSISTANT SECRETARY FROM UTAH

### **Call to Serve**

During World War I, I was appointed by President Woodrow Wilson to be a member of the Coinage Commission of the United States, on which I served early in 1917, going to the Philadelphia Mint to do so. William G. McAdoo, then Secretary of the Treasury, telegraphed me while I was at the Mint in Philadelphia to come to Washington. In a long interview with me, Secretary McAdoo said: "I want to do something for you, Moyle." I replied that I would not accept anything the administration might give to a Utahn. Up to that time, nothing of national importance had been given to a native Utahn, and especially a Mormon. I then returned home, and in August, Senator King telegraphed that McAdoo wanted me to become his assistant in the Treasury Department. I was reluctant to give up my business and home, although anxious to be of some real public service during the Great War. While I hesitated, Senator Salisbury of Delaware, who was president pro tem of the Senate, and with whom I was acquainted, telegraphed and said that my friends wanted me to come to Washington. This was followed by a telegram from McAdoo himself urging that I accept the appointment, but I still hesitated. Later, even President Wilson

telegraphed urging me to accept the appointment, which finally I did.<sup>1</sup>

While I appreciated keenly the distinct honor conferred upon me and upon the State of Utah, it was no easy matter to arrive at a decision under the existing circumstances. The magnitude of the honor conferred was still more deeply impressed upon me by prominent Republicans and Democrats alike, all of whom were unanimous in the opinion that I should accept. Under such conditions I felt that I would have been derelict in my duty to have declined the appointment. The unanimity of opinion among leading Republicans and Democrats was exceedingly gratifying.<sup>2</sup> The *Tribune* editorial on my appointment pleased me very much:

The honor conferred upon Mr. Moyle by the proffer of an executive position in the national administration is unique insofar as Utah is concerned. In no other instance has a Utah man or a member of the Mormon Church been tendered an executive position in the national administration.<sup>3</sup>

Prior to my departure for Washington, several of the leading citizens of the state gave a testimonial dinner for me at the Hotel Utah. I was very pleased with the complimentary remarks, but especially did I appreciate former Senator Tom Kearns who said, referring to my fighting qualities: "He never struck below the belt and you always know where he stands."<sup>4</sup>

### In the Treasury

The room I occupied in the Treasury Building was next east to that of the Secretary, and faced south with one window facing east that looked up Pennsylvania Avenue, giving me a clear view

<sup>1</sup> Undated memorandum, Box 8, fd 1; James Henry Moyle Collection, Library-Archives, Historical Department, Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City, hereinafter cited as CLA. All references hereinafter to box and folder (fd) are for items from this collection.

<sup>2</sup> *Salt Lake Tribune*, 22 Sept. 1917.

<sup>3</sup> *Salt Lake Tribune*, 20 Sept. 1917. This statement from the *Tribune* was contained in the article announcing that Moyle had been offered the position and not as an editorial per se.

<sup>4</sup> Undated memorandum, Box 1, fd 12. O. N. Malmquist, *The First 100 Years: A History of the Salt Lake Tribune, 1871-1971* (Salt Lake City: Utah State Historical Society, 1971), p. 264, quotes Kearns as follows: "Everybody knows where you stand on any question, and you never hit below the belt."

of the Capitol from where I sat. I thought it was the nicest office in the building. The Secretary occupied the southwest corner, which gave him needed adjoining rooms. His entrance room was larger than mine, but his office was not. The fiscal assistant occupied the southeast corner room, but his view was not as good as mine. He could not, for example, see the Capitol. I had three dignified blacks as messengers who carried paper to and from my office to the divisions under me. They had nothing else to do. One of them, the oldest, we called Uncle Jacob. He spent most of his time admitting people to the office and waiting on me. He insisted on standing at attention when I entered and left, and took off my coat and hat, dusted me off, and so on. The third assistant occupied an inner room with a window on an inner court. Mine was one of the most dignified offices in Washington, and we transacted an immense amount of business there. Every day there, bureau chiefs explained the most important problems. Events were always exciting.<sup>5</sup>

Soon after I entered the Treasury Department, President Wilson designated and authorized me to act as the acting secretary of the treasury in the absence of the Secretary. The rule in the Treasury Department then was that when the Secretary was unable to attend to business, even though in his office, the acting secretary should attend to the business; and in that capacity I was frequently called into service, inasmuch as the work of the Treasury Department was greater than it had ever been before in the history of the nation. At the beginning of the Harding Administration, the office of undersecretary was created to perform the same and other services.<sup>6</sup>

### **Reforming the Currency**

While I was in the Treasury Department, my duties did not include that of the fiscal affairs of the government. That occupied the entire attention of another assistant secretary who was overwhelmed with the work of that branch of the Treasury, including that of floating liberty bonds. But he was so busy with it that Mr. McAdoo asked me if I would not relieve him of the supervision of

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<sup>5</sup> Memorandum dated Oct. 1944, Box 1, fd 2.

<sup>6</sup> Undated memorandum, Box 8, fd 1.

the Bureau of Printing and Engraving with its 9,500 employees, which was giving him trouble because the chief of the bureau was mixed up in a moral scandal. I quickly solved that problem by the appointment of a new chief, a man of excellent character and ability.

Taking charge of the Bureau of Printing and Engraving, I sought with great difficulty to have the Army release some of their engravers to us to relieve our shortage, but some of them were well-placed there and objected to being taken from the Army. We finally got some lower-skilled engravers and managed with difficulty and at times embarrassment to get along and supply the needed money. It was this need for more engravers, and the crowded condition of the storage room in which the plates were kept, that led me to investigate the whole subject of issuing national bank notes. My first real information and encouragement to do away with the national bank notes came from a Mr. Herndon, a Virginian who had charge of the vault rooms in which the notes were stored in the lowest floor of the basement of the Treasury Building. He was delighted when I called on him and asked for information concerning his duties and activities in connection with the matter. He said he had advocated for years doing away with the national bank notes, but never was able to get the ear of a Treasury official. From that hour, I was ceaseless in my search for justification for doing that very thing. I had several interviews with Herndon, and a Mr. Thompson in the office of the fiscal assistant secretary, and with a Mr. Broughton, then in charge of Loans and Currency, a branch of the fiscal assistant secretary's office that had charge of handling all the paper money of the government. Thompson and Broughton offered no encouragement, though they offered no objections either and apparently could assign none, except that it would disturb the existing paper money set up, which was working satisfactorily except for the difficulty of keeping up the plates during the exigencies of war.

Next to the need for engravers was that of steel-plate printers and machines (with storage space for them) to do the printing of the various notes constituting the currency of the government. I found some thirteen hundred hand presses in use, which occupied much needed space in the bureau. Yet we were far behind in printing the notes. I immediately impressed this fact upon Secre-

tary McAdoo and he authorized me to substitute (as I recommended) hoe presses, and to place at once an order for 200 to start with. But this caused labor union trouble, because the hoe presses would do four times the work of the hand presses with the same labor. Frank Morrison, secretary of the American Federation of Labor, finally cooperated with me and that threatened trouble was averted. The manufacturers had never had such an order. Then it took time to substitute them for all the hand presses. And the union insisted among other things that the new machines should only be used during the war. I agreed but ordered the chief of the bureau to put the discarded hand presses where the plate printers could not find them after the war.

As soon as I satisfied myself that the national bank notes should be abolished, based on information obtainable in the Treasury, I went across the street from the Treasury to President White (he was the nearest) of the Federal National Bank of Washington to learn what objections the bankers would have to the change, and to my surprise and delight he said he believed it would be a good thing, despite the fact that it would take from his bank and other banks in Washington desirable business in handling for outside banks their notes—that is acting as agent for them in receiving and forwarding new notes and returning dirty and damaged notes to be exchanged for new notes. There seeming to be no more hurdles to clear, I took the matter up with the president of the American Bankers Association. He was so pleased that he came to Washington at once and we perfected plans to submit it first to the attorneys of the association, and (if they approved) then to the members of the executive committee that consisted of one from each state.

The attorneys cleared it and only two or three of the committee objected. I believed their objections were chiefly due to the pride presidents and cashiers of national banks had in seeing their names signed on so much of the nation's money. Why more banks did not object to abolishing the notes for this reason and also simple economics is difficult to understand. The banks, by placing certain 2 percent bonds in the Treasury as security, could issue 98 percent of the amount of the bonds in national bank notes. Thus they received 2 percent interest on the bonds—that is, on 98 percent of the bonds, and could loan the 98 percent greenbacks

at the going rate of interest—then 6 percent and up. The embarrassment caused by the multitude of national bank notes was due to the fact that each national bank (and there were then eight thousand of them) had a plate for one-dollar, five-dollar, ten-dollar, and twenty-dollar notes and very many of them also had two, fifty, one hundred, five hundred, and some one thousand, five thousand, and ten thousand-dollar notes. The great multiplication of effort was therefore manifest.

With the president of the bankers' association enthusiastic for the change, I took the matter up with Secretary McAdoo, thinking he would, of course, be for it. But I had not considered the problem of assuming responsibility for such an important revolutionary change in our monetary system that meant tampering with the currency of the country; this was a delicate as well as important matter. Mr. McAdoo was then not only floating liberty loans and war savings bonds, to say nothing of the duties generally of Secretary of the Treasury, but he was also in charge of directing all of the affairs of the railroads of the United States and therefore could not give the subject the attention it required.

Mr. McAdoo never reached the subject for the reasons assigned. He resigned, and Carter Glass, then chairman of the Banking Committee in the House of Representatives, was appointed to succeed him. I promptly renewed my recommendation to abolish the national bank notes and to reduce the size of the notes to that of the paper money of the Philippines. He was not favorably impressed, and in fact never discussed the subject with me to any extent, though he has always seemed to respect me. In fact he has been especially complimentary in recent years. His only comment when I presented in person my recommendation was, "I haven't time to consider it."

We first met in the reception room in the Secretary's office. As chairman of the Banking Committee he was waiting to see the Secretary. I sat down beside him at once, and in my enthusiasm bombarded him with my big issue to which he listened long enough to get my views. His only reply was characteristic of him—brief, emphatic, and snappy. Without any apology he merely said, "If you are right somebody should go to the penitentiary." Somewhat crestfallen, I got away as soon as I could. It took all his time (about one year as Secretary) to get familiar with the impera-

tive and exhausting duties of his office. Though very able, he was not an exceptional executive; at least he was not at home in that work. Then Senator Martin of Virginia died, and the governor offered Glass a seat in the Senate, which he accepted. There he was at home and in the field in which he was a master, and stood as he still does in its first ranks.

D. F. Houston, then Secretary of Agriculture, was appointed to succeed Glass. Only six months of President Wilson's term remained, so he also never reached the subject I urged so strongly.

Secretary Andrew W. Mellon, who came in with the Harding administration, was a very quiet, cautious business executive who rarely made a mistake for want of caution or conservatism. He was a multimillionaire of the first bracket. My branches of the service were new to him, for he had never spent much time in Washington.

Mr. Mellon had forced on him assistants who led him into some considerable trouble, especially the assistant in charge of engraving. But I had everything in fine order and gave him no trouble. He never failed to approve any of my recommendations except one—abolishing the national bank notes and reducing the size of the paper currency. Notwithstanding his apparent confidence in me, he did not act on the recommendation for some time after I left.

For about seven years he appointed various experts and commissions to examine and report their findings on the subject, and on the sixteenth day of March, 1928, he recommended without any variation from my recommendations exactly what I had recommended to the four secretaries. The time passed had resulted in a loss to the government and banks of many millions of dollars that would have been saved if my recommendations had been followed. Maybe it suggests the verity of "a fool rushing in where angels fear to tread," but I am very proud of my part, and it secured for me a respect in Treasury circles that justifies that pride.

#### **Responsible for the Public Health**

The Treasury has always been the business branch of the Government, the department into which new government activities were habitually placed. As I recall, in fact, the Departments of Agriculture, Interior, Commerce, and Labor were started by enlarging activities originally carried on by the Treasury Department.

I was surprised when made assistant secretary and put in charge of public health organizations in the world. Its laboratories were a revelation to me and notable among my first surprises there were the number of old horses and animals of various kinds and the great number of mice, rats, and rabbits that were used in their search for health truths.

The individual that interested me most was a heavily bearded man. (This was in 1917 when beards were a common though disappearing sight.) He had a massive head of black hair and was an intelligent, cloistered, and silent man who was earnestly intent (indeed absorbed) with looking at a house fly through an ample supply of magnifying implements I was told had occupied the man's sole attention for six weeks. He was the only man I approached but did not disturb who failed to pay any attention to my presence. He was looking as if he was on the trail of something extremely interesting and so important that he was lost to all else. He appeared as if he could easily and naturally be a hermit in search only of some great truth, in this case of some cavity or spot on a fly's body that could harbor or carry a disease germ to some unfortunate mortal.

The most important and interesting individual that service brought into my life was General William C. Gorgas, a public health surgeon who had conquered the yellow fever on the Panama Canal and made a disease-stricken, malarial country a healthy place for man to live in. His sphere was that of savior to thousands of human lives—a complete reversal of the accomplishments of a general in the army as we generally recognize the meaning of the word. General Gorgas was small rather than large, a normal though extremely interesting character. He and his wife became quite intimate friends of Mrs. Moyle and me. We greatly admired him, and his wife was socially very pleasant. The general was getting to be an old man in appearance and action. He loved to dance, though his movements were slow and deliberate.

Early in World War I Congress passed a law creating the Inter-Departmental Social Hygiene Board, and placed it in charge of the Secretaries of the Treasury, War, and Navy. Its function was to provide for the personal welfare, health, and morals of the enlisted men before they were sent abroad or actively used in the Army. Mr. McAdoo was so occupied with the financing of the war, Liberty Loans, and War Savings Stamps Campaign, and the duties

generally of his office to which had been added the control and direction of all the railroads in the United States, that he was unable to give any attention whatever to this new responsibility. The United States Public Health Service being under my direction, Mr. McAdoo turned over to me all of his duties with regard to the Hygiene Board, notwithstanding the fact that he was named the first of the three officers to be in charge of that activity.<sup>7</sup>

With Health Service surgeons, I made quite a study of the measure and the work to be done and I had the interesting experience of suggesting to Newton Baker, Secretary of War, and Josephus Daniels, Secretary of the Navy, just what should be done—in other words, suggesting the motions that should be made, and so on, and because of my familiarity with Public Health became successful and active in the capacity of Mr. McAdoo's substitute.

A Mr. Story, a college president, was put in charge as the active administrator of that service, and a Dr. Pierce, one of the surgeons of the United States Public Health, was in charge of the Venereal Division. His activities were extensive and the protection that was thrown around the young men inducted into the Army and the various Army camps in the United States was a very great service. There was extensive literature circulated, rules adopted, and the morals and health of the inductees were greatly benefited therefrom.

Baker and Daniels were both men with strong moral and religious convictions and took a deep interest in that work, meeting frequently and regularly and always attending the meetings of the commission if possible. I enjoyed my contact with those two splendid Christian gentlemen.<sup>8</sup> In 1924, I attended with Baker the Protestant, Catholic, and Hebrew Conference in Washington which was purely religious. I explained to Baker why I was for McAdoo for President. We had quite a chat.<sup>9</sup> Baker, by the way, distinguished himself as the Secretary of War and was seriously talked of as a Presidential candidate, and would have been an active candidate for the nomination.<sup>10</sup> It was his health—

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<sup>7</sup> Memorandum dated Apr. 1943, Box 9, fd 7.

<sup>8</sup> Undated memorandum, Box 8, fd 6.

<sup>9</sup> Memorandum dated Oct. 1944, Box 1, fd 2.

<sup>10</sup> Undated memorandum, Box 8, fd 6.

his heart I think—that kept him back. Additionally, he was from Ohio, a popular state for Presidents.<sup>11</sup>

### **The Church in Washington**

When I first visited Washington in 1889 and for years after, a live Mormon was an object of real and rare curiosity. Generally, though, we did have a delegate to Congress with a secretary in the city. But other than that I doubt that there was another member of the Church located in the city. I visited Washington more or less frequently later, and when I lived there for four years during the first great war, 1917-21, there was no organized branch of the Church there. Senator Smoot had been extremely active and successful in securing employment there for Utahns, and so religious services were held in Senator Smoot's house; thirty or forty or maybe more attended. As I remember they met twice a month but no meetings were held during the summer. There being no Sunday School and having a large family, we had one informally at home for my children. The lovely daughter of a non-Mormon neighbor attended our little Sunday School occasionally, and my children paid a great deal of attention to her when she was there. She eventually married Smoot's son, Ernest. Dr. Edgar Brossard, who became one of the first presidents of the Washington Branch when it was finally organized, told me that she said that I had given her the clearest conception of Mormonism, or something to that effect. I appreciated greatly that statement.<sup>12</sup> She died a few years ago, but did not join the Church. Her husband, like his brothers, was not a Church-goer or recognized as an active member of the Church. I think that is true of the son in Provo, unless he has changed of late. It is distinctly so of the other two. Before I left Washington for good I saw the youngest son, Ernest, at church once or twice when I attended regularly the small branch at Chevy Chase. He then said to me that he had recently had his son baptized and that he was attending church.<sup>13</sup>

To present something of the state of public sentiment in

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<sup>11</sup> Memorandum dated Oct. 1944, Box 1, fd 2.

<sup>12</sup> Memorandum dated Sept.-Oct. 1942, Box 9, fd 6. See also memorandum dated Aug. 1943, Box 10, fd 2.

<sup>13</sup> Memorandum dated Sept.-Oct. 1943, Box 10, fd 3.

Washington in 1918, I was surprised to learn that Senator Smoot did not favor my effort to have a branch of the Church organized at Washington, because of public feeling toward the Mormons—the danger of arousing the then latent forces of Christian bigotry and hatred that were then cooled down to inaction from the ferocity they had exhibited not so long before against the Senator and our people. I presume that it was his policy to “let well enough alone,” but I fancied at the time that he felt that if anything of the kind was done, only he should initiate it, being one of the Twelve. That did not matter to me. I was indifferent to all that and very prejudiced against any apostle being the leader of a partisan political party. I was rather openly pro-Mormon in that respect, which made me all the more anxious to do the job myself.

I persisted in my efforts to have a branch organized, but President Walter P. Monson, of the Eastern States Mission, followed Senator Smoot implicitly. He only needed to know his wishes to follow them. He was quite the opposite of his brother Joe, a Democratic leader of Cache Valley, who was quite as independent and Democratic as I was. I discussed the matter with Apostle Heber J. Grant, with whom I was on the most intimate and friendly relations, but got nowhere. Apostles do not trespass upon the preserves of fellow apostles. I found they showed great deference to their fellow officers and especially to the First Presidency. Unity was their watchword. I was greatly surprised later when president of the Eastern States Mission myself to find all of the letters received from the President of the Church also signed by both counselors if present. That, I understand, continued to be the rule until the present administration. President J. Reuben Clark, I understand, is credited with being responsible for that change of policy. It seems practical, but the old rule did promote the idea of unity.<sup>14</sup> When President Grant came to Washington, I took the matter up with him again and urged still more strongly, but I received the same answer—that it was contrary to the policy of the Church not to respect greatly the advice of an apostle in matters affecting the welfare of the Church in which he was more familiar and interested than any other of the

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<sup>14</sup> Memorandum dated Sept.-Oct. 1942, Box 9, fd 6.

general authorities. This again seemed to be final and dependent on the Senator.<sup>15</sup>

I waited somewhat impatiently. "All things come to him who waits." Then George W. McCune of Ogden (now in Los Angeles) became president of the mission. He was an ardent Democrat sympathizing with my ideas of both religion and politics who consulted Senator Smoot no more than he had to, if at all, on the subject.<sup>16</sup> I took the matter up with him on his first visit and he was most favorable and worked the problem out satisfactorily to all so far as I know. Just how Senator Smoot felt I do not know, except that he yielded gracefully to the inevitable. The need for it was clear as it had always been.<sup>17</sup>

The branch was soon organized and a Sunday School followed, with an attendance (as I remember) of about a hundred or more. We had a delightful time together meeting in the Masonic rooms on the street between Connecticut Avenue and Eighteenth or Nineteenth Streets. Then followed the ordinations and organizations of the Priesthood, which so far as I know was completely dormant before, except that the Sacrament was administered.

#### **An Apostle in the Senate**

The attendance at the meetings was doubled and I think soon tripled. Not a few had refused to go to the Smoot residence for any purpose unless it was death, and I do not remember a death being honored there or elsewhere in Washington. Senator King said he would not go there and did not when I was there. Solely from a sense of religious duty, I did go and Senator Smoot was gentlemanly if not brotherly, but not congenial or cordial. His wife, a schoolmate of my wife and social intimate before marriage, in fact so intimate that they were accustomed to sleep together in their respective homes, was absolutely freezing, not even so good as chilly to both of us. His forced cordiality was absolutely unchristian. My wife and I were both ignored in church so far as possible. We never received even a friendly greeting, but a good Smoot Republican, preceding or following us, was gushingly received.

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<sup>15</sup> Memorandum dated Sept.-Oct. 1943, Box 10, fd 3.

<sup>16</sup> Memorandum dated Sept.-Oct. 1942, Box 9, fd 6.

<sup>17</sup> Memorandum dated Sept.-Oct. 1943, Box 10, fd 3.

Mrs. Smoot manifestly did not even want us there. We were to all appearances a thorn in her flesh. They are both dead and I hate to say this but I must, especially when I think of a Mormon Apostle coming the nearest to any member of the Church to being an actual national leader of the dominant party of the greatest nation on earth or that ever was on the earth. I am also reliably informed that before his death he said to a mutual friend that he respected me much more than he did one of his other rivals for the Senate because I fought in the open. But such has been the end (which I was glad to witness) of a period of almost insane partisanship that wrecked brotherhood and old friendships. My own intense devotion to my party was one of my weaknesses as well as sources of success, because I always received generously any favor I sought from the Democratic Party.

While Senator Smoot and I were always on speaking terms, there was no love lost on either side for the other. We were bitter political opponents, so neither called on the other and we were not at all sociable with each other though we were far from home. I know of no other such relationship in my life. That, for example, was not true as to former Senator George Sutherland, for we were somewhat more sociable due to our having been college roommates and bed-fellows. I visited him on rare occasions in his office but never visited Senator Smoot, all of which was due to the intensity of the prevailing political partisanship in Utah. I doubt that it was ever exceeded anywhere—or at any time. No killings, however, resulted from it. But otherwise friendly relations were strained to the limit. Mormons were inclined to be about as serious about their political convictions as their religious convictions. I certainly was, and so were the Mormons generally after they got well-settled in their convictions. My seriousness increased because I was indignant over so many Saints becoming Republicans overnight at the suggestion and appeal of their religious leaders.<sup>18</sup>

I recognize that I was never intimate with the Senator or knew him beyond his life as Senator. To me he was simply a candidate for the United States Senate out of the darkness of the firmament, all of a sudden. I had never known anything of his prior political activities. So to me, a keen observer of political events, his entrance

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<sup>18</sup> Memorandum dated Sept.-Oct. 1942, Box 9, fd 6.

into political life was purely meteoric. I had never even heard but little of his religious activities. It was said of him, for example, that he did not distinguish himself as a missionary in England. He evidently spent his time in the office of the mission tending to business matters for which he was well-fitted, and did not complete his mission due to a call from home on the death of his father. He then became the successful manager of the Provo Woolen Mills of the Church, and that was his conspicuous achievement when he was elected Senator, because he had certainly not distinguished himself as an Apostle.

I have no doubt that a man whose dominating instincts fit him only for cold-blooded business and partisan politics (as I believe was the case with Smoot) cannot fill the role of an Apostle & the Lord at the same time. Again, here was an Apostle who never demonstrated the first sign of love or even cordiality for me, a brother in the Gospel. I regret to say that I was not much better, but did want to be more friendly in Washington than he probably did but he never made the slightest effort while I did. One day, the Senator, President Grant, and Congressman Milton H. Welling visited my office (I do not recall for what purpose) and I was delighted and surprised to see Smoot in my office with the others. I was anxious to make a friend of him and hastened to say so. Unfortunately, however, without first indicating sufficiently my friendly intuition, I said: "Senator, your partisanship has made me ashamed of my own . . ." He did not wait for me to finish the sentence and instantly jumped up and walked out, and the other two followed him in spite of my appeal for them to remain. I was never more surprised in my life. In fact I was stunned and chagrined beyond measure for having spoiled the only opportunity (if it was one) at reconciliation. With reasonable promptness thereafter, I do not remember how long, I telephoned the Senator expressing my regrets and good intentions and asked for an interview which he granted. I related to him my regret for our lack of cordial relations and my failure to make that clear when he called and that I did desire a better understanding. I told him that my differences with him were purely political and not otherwise personal or unfriendly. He appeared pleased and willing to be agreeable, but was not warm or very hearty in any of his expressions. Our relations thereafter were not materially changed, though I always thought he was a little more

cordial, but it was not distinctly so. I was told, however, by a mutual friend that the Senator sometime after said to him that he had a good deal more respect for me than he did for Welling because he believed that I was open and on the square, or above board. He probably expected more from Welling, for when he was elected he was a stake president.

To Smoot's credit he rose to great power and influence in Washington and was noted for his industry and attention to business. My attention was first called to these facts in a very striking and impressive way. I was in a conversation with several of the important governors of the first Federal Reserve Board. We wanted something done in Congress. I think it was Governor William Harding who said, "If we could get Senator Smoot interested, it would be put over." That really surprised me. It would have been an equal surprise for them to know that my influence with him would have been less than that of any of them. I do not recall whether anything was said on that subject or not, but my presence probably suggested Smoot. Obviously, I never traveled on my credit with Smoot. Our relations soon became known to my intimates, and this was early in my presence there. I do not recall ever having asked him for a favor, or vice versa.

On one of the very serious occasions in the Senate during World War I, Smoot either voluntarily or on request offered a notable prayer in the Senate. While he rarely got on to religious subjects in a public way, I believe he did in private conversation. In my first interview with Franklin Roosevelt when on my mission and he was governor, he related having had an informative conversation with the Senator about the Church. That was in connection with his statement to me that the Mormon Church followed the scriptures more closely than any other church.

The Senator, although we lived near his home during our four years in Washington, never called on us or suggested a call from us, although there had never been a personal difference between any of the four of us. On one occasion during the first months of our residence in Washington the Senator walked past our home when we were sitting on the porch not far from the sidewalk. I fancy he did not know where we lived or he would not have walked past our door. But he saw us (could not avoid it), nodded his head, and emotionlessly walked on without a word as if he had no

thought of stopping a moment or any interest in us, although we responded very appropriately but did not rush out to stop him. He certainly did not invite it. He was never in our home nor was his wife. He was in Salt Lake City when we celebrated our fiftieth wedding anniversary to which we invited him and a large number of guests. Most of the leading Church officials were present; the First Presidency and even the President of the Twelve, Rudger Clawson, were there, although Clawson had never before been in our home. (He was unpopular with the Dinwoodeys due to his divorce from Mrs. Moyle's sister.) It was a notable event held at the homes and on the beautiful and extensive grounds of our sons Henry and Gilbert on the farm in Cottonwood on the Highland Drive in 1937 when we were again living in Washington. The Smoots did not come, and offered no apology.

Smoot never at any time showed or indicated any desire to be friendly even when I became somewhat popular with the other Church leaders generally and was out of politics for good and all because of age and retirement, and the past was being forgotten. He died in February 1942, and I retired in 1940 (July 19), and thus ended anything but a Christian, brotherly, or religious relationship. So far as I know or have occasion to think I was not an exception among those who fought him vigorously in politics, and while severe I did not go as far as B. H. Roberts and some others. I do not know or have never heard that he claimed the contrary. All three of his sons, both by action and words, indicated clearly a real respect for me. One son who lived in Provo has always been very cordial with me. He repeatedly stepped out of his way in Salt Lake and in Provo to speak to me in a very friendly way, the last time early this year or late last year. He stopped me with a hearty greeting and said in the conversation that followed: "I have always highly respected you." I in return have always liked him. Our more than mere acquaintance commenced when with Henry I chanced to sit beside him at a football game in Provo, during which we chatted freely and I thought he was a very nice chap. The compliment which he went out of his way to make led me to think that the Senator must have spoken more favorably of me to them than I presumed he would. At all events, as I have said before, as time has passed into my eighties there is a growing feeling that if I knew more of what the Senator actually did and said I would have greater

respect for him and greater appreciation for what he did and less appreciation for what I have condemned. But I have many times thought that the Lord had nothing to do with his being made an Apostle or Senator and I have a growing belief rather than disbelief that the Lord after all did probably have something to do with it.<sup>19</sup>

### **To Defeat Senator Smoot?**

Notwithstanding my desire to retire from full-time public life, my opposition to Smoot almost led me into a campaign for the Senate again in 1920. To demonstrate my state of mind at the time, I include the following excerpts from a letter I wrote to my brother Stephen on April 24, 1920:

"I am sorry that your political vision is narrowed down to an interest in two individuals. If I considered self-interest only, I would avoid the possibility of my being a candidate for any office, for the reason that it is not only extremely expensive, but to go through a campaign as I did six years ago and probably would again if I became a candidate, either for the Senate or Governor, it would involve a most trying ordeal and one which my nerves may not support.

"My health is excellent, everybody speaks of how well I look, but my nerves have not fully recovered from the operation I went through a year ago. I have thought for six years that my nerves were more or less impaired by the ordeal through which I went six years ago. Then we had a very imperfect organization, new county officers, and very little help from the other state candidates. On all sides, it was generally believed that I was making a fight against inevitable defeat.

"Now the situation is quite different, although the sentiment seems to be that it would be difficult to defeat Senator Smoot, and that idea will probably constitute our greatest obstacle to success in the coming campaign. As that idea, however, is being circulated, it makes me more inclined to get into the fight for all I am worth. If I know myself, I will be guided by a sense of duty to the state and my friends, rather than subserving my personal wishes.

"I feel the honors obtained already are as much as I deserve

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<sup>19</sup> Memorandum dated Sept.-Oct. 1943, Box 10, fd 3.

and they should be enough, especially as I am assured that if I want to try for further honors I will have the confidence and support of my old friends and the party that has stood so solidly behind me for over twenty years. I consider that the crowning compliment of my life."<sup>20</sup>

#### Exchange with President Grant over Smoot

Just a few days later, I was deeply chagrined to read in the Washington newspapers that President Grant had endorsed Senator Smoot's candidacy. I consequently wrote the following letter to my intimate friend, as I had always considered him to be:

"Dear President Grant:

"I enclose a clipping from Thursday's *Washington Post*, containing a front page article written by its special correspondent, John Callan O'Laughlin. The article has attracted much attention and caused inquiries from prominent men. I take the statements so far as they relate to you, to be correct, because they are consistent with statements you made while here, and are corroborated by numerous letters from home advising me of the extraordinary Republican campaign being carried on in Senator Smoot's interest, and particularly the importance of your position on the subject, and the extent to which the columns of the *Deseret News* are open to the press agent of the Senator.

"You will see the writer says that you have stated to friends that 'you will support Smoot's renomination and reelection', and that you said to him: 'I am a Democrat, but I appreciate Senator Smoot's unusual qualifications and the desirability of having in the Senate in this time of reconstruction, a man of his attainments.'

"I have hoped that the President of the Church in particular, and the Apostles, because of their peculiar and exclusive claim of Divine guidance in matters relating to the welfare of all the people would as a rule at least, avoid partisan politics, unless the occasion really warranted their coming down from the exalted plane on which so many of the people place them and participating in the discord, if not bitterness, of partisan politics. As you know, such has always been my hope, even if a Democrat should become the

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<sup>20</sup> James H. Moyle to Stephen Moyle, 24 Apr. 1920, Box 2, fd 5.

President, and consequently my disappointment when I find that your utterances are drawn into the campaign, which from the extraordinary efforts being made by the Republicans so early, indicates that it is to be a contest of the first magnitude.

"This unfortunate condition appears to my mind to be magnified when such a course is taken by one who makes prominent the fact that he is a Democrat, and notwithstanding all that supports a man who is himself, as you well know, so intensely partisan. One who has persistently opposed everything Democratic, as if it were because it was Democratic. One who has opposed practically every measure of relief to the many, every progressive reform proposed, both in Utah and the Nation, indeed one who has, by his consistent support of everything the favored classes have wanted, gained their unqualified support and naturally has earned the disapproval of those who are called the laboring classes.

"Even the Republican correspondent to whom you gave your interview, O'Laughlin, says 'The Senator has the business interests with him, and it is in laboring circles only that he is weak.' The importance of the latter he attempts to minimize by suggesting it is with the Democratic party anyhow.

"In the same connection, I call attention to the editorial recently appearing in the *Deseret News*, quoting in black type an editorial from the New York Post [sic] applauding Senator Smoot, to which the *Deseret News* editor adds the unqualified endorsement and approval of the paper, with the statement that the editorial of the *Post* come with greater force because it is an independent Democratic paper. As a matter of fact, that paper is owned by Thos. W. Lamont, 23 Broadway, New York, the home office of J. P. Morgan & Co.

"A few days before the *News* heralded the coming of a letter, and subsequently published it, from Mr. Leighton, an engineer, with a long residence in Washington where he was deprived of the privilege of participating in politics, but on account of the great usefulness of Senator Smoot he patriotically writes a long letter in which he emphasizes his lack of interest or knowledge about Utah affairs, except the great value of the services of our senior Senator. Upon inquiry, I was reliably informed that the gentleman is a \$10,000 a year employee of the Utah Light & Power Co., of Salt

Lake City. Well may Mr. Leighton say that the Senator has the big interests behind him, but not the little interest of the many!

"Permit me also to call attention to a few of the many evidences of the broad, liberal, constructive Democratic statesmanship of the man you say is so well equipped for performing signal service. He opposed the direct election of Senators by the people, making it possible to tax incomes which might compel wealth to contribute from its abundance and deprived it of the power to corruptly control the United States Senate. He also opposed or voted against practically all of the important constructive, beneficial democratic legislation enacted during the past seven years, including the Federal Reserve banking and currency system which dethroned the power of Wall Street, in its control of the money and banking system of the country and but for which the great war could not have been won and the most destructive of all panics avoided. He favored a high, protective tariff on the necessities of life. He opposed the revision of the tariff downward. He predicted that by such revision, that industries of the country would be ruined. Thus, while opposing everything Democratic, his devotion to everything Republican has been slavish in the extreme, even to the following of the Republican leaders in their opposition to the League of Nations, and their conspiracy to destroy the prestige and world leadership of the President of the United States because he was a Democrat. Hence the difficulty in understanding why a Democrat should want such a partisan reelected.

"It will be said that Senator Smoot opposed the League of Nations without reservations at a time when it was unpopular to do so, but if you still bear in mind the extraordinary popularity of the President, due to the unparalleled reforms and constructive legislation accomplished under his leadership, with the consistent opposition of the Senator, crowned with his becoming the recognized spokesman of the liberty-loving of all nations, and the world leader in the establishment of an international tribunal calculated to promote eternal peace, which movement was regarded as the realization of a great inspired idea.

"You must realize that without the successful leadership of Woodrow Wilson in the termination of the great war and unparalleled accomplishments of his administration being in some way obscured, there was no hope of political success for the Republican

party in the pending National election, and therefore the round robin of the Republican side of the Senate, followed with the manifest determination to talk to death and obscure the League of Nations and destroy the influence of the President, with eight months of villainous misrepresentation, hairsplitting sophistries, and inflated fears.

"You will recall that Senator Smoot when in Utah last summer said that the amendments which the President had secured to the first draft of the treaty and league which he brought back from Europe, met his objections and that he could then support the league as amended, but on his return to Washington he found that Republican leaders had determined that that was not enough, and then he joined with them in supporting, although he never openly expressed his opposition except by his vote in the United States Senate. This statesman's voice was not heard there on that greatest of all questions, one way or the other, but he subserviently followed Republican leadership throughout. His leadership in Utah politics resulted in the State being one of the most reactionary and undemocratic in the Union. Then on the moral issue of prohibition, it was not until the last hope of saving it was gone that he deserted his great ally, the liquor interest.

"If his attitude on any of the great constructive issues that have been presented to the country had been in any sense consistent with the views of a Democrat, your attitude would not be so surprising. You would do me a personal favor if you would indicate what real constructive legislation the Senator ever fathered, or what beneficial, constructive democratic legislation he ever failed to oppose. It is true he voted, as the Republicans did generally, for war measures, both from patriotic reasons as well as self-preservation politically. He, however, at the same time either on the floor of the Senate or outside of the Senate, expressed his antagonism and opposition to most of the measures for which he finally voted, including such important measures as the food control act, and so on.

"I will deeply esteem your indicating wherein he ever opposed the special interest, or wherein predatory wealth was not his friend. Was he not always hand in glove with and supporting such reactionary leaders as Senator Penrose, whom even the now immortalized Roosevelt rebelled against and condemned them in more scathing terms than it is possible for me to express. I mention par-

ticularly Roosevelt's description of those gentlemen in the Convention in the Chicago Auditorium in the summer of 1912, in which he called the gentlemen to whom I refer—"thieves, crooks, and second-story men." I hope you will not consider it offensive when I suggest that notwithstanding all this our senior Senator is pointed to by you, a Democrat, as needed during this period of reconstruction.

"In the interest of fairness, and in view of the fact that your position is already one of the great factors in the Smoot campaign in Utah, if not surrounding States, may I not, as a Democrat, ask you to state whether your position in this campaign relative to the election of Senator Smoot is any different from the position you have taken when the Senator was a candidate for election in previous campaigns, and if so, in what particulars, except that you now publicly favor the re-election of the Senator.

"I congratulate you, however, on being open and aboveboard in what you have to say. I would a million times rather have you frankly and openly express your views as you have done, than permit them to be filtered through gum-shoe political hirelings, especially when they occupy ecclesiastical offices, as has been done in previous elections through Senator Smoot's lieutenants. If you are going to take part in the campaign, and you surely are doing so very early and effectively, however unconscious you may be of the fact, I hope will be with the same open frankness and candor that has always characterized your conduct.

"In view of the fact that no member of the Presidency, or the twelve Apostles, whatever their views or political convictions, has ever publicly expressed themselves in opposition to the election of Senator Smoot in any previous campaign, and in view of the fact that so many of his religious followers believe he is performing a divinely-called mission in serving in the United States Senate, and in view of the fact that he has, and seems to propose to continue to perform no other than a political service during the useful portion of his life, while at the same time occupying the divine calling of an Apostle of Jesus Christ, the special advocate of peace and love and unity, I feel that you, and if not, Senator Smoot, should relieve the situation of any doubt or uncertainty as to why such an unusual condition should appear to exist."<sup>21</sup>

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<sup>21</sup> James H. Moyle to Heber J. Grant, 29 Apr. 1920, Box 2, fd 5.

President Grant's reply was not particularly heartening.

"My Dear Brother Moyle:

"Your letter of April 29th reached me Saturday, the 8th. I thought it was a long letter on the health question, and laid it aside without reading a single word, just noticing that there were six pages of it. Sunday I went to Logan; but Monday, in the morning between three and four A.M. I was dictating to my machine a lot of correspondence for the Presidency, as well as answering personal letters, and I read your letter for the first time.

"There are many things in your letter that are very surprising to me and, in my judgment, not written in a proper spirit, and not worthy of a High Councillor in one of the Stakes of Zion. I do not intend to take the time to discuss all the matters mentioned in your letter, as I am very busy, and leave for San Francisco this evening.

"I admit that Brother Smoot is a strong partisan, but I feel that your letter is equally as partisan and as full of bias and prejudice as anything you see in him. I do not think he is one particle more partisan than your dear self. You ask for my free and frank opinion, and you have it.

"You ask if I occupy the same position with reference to the re-election of Reed Smoot that I have done in previous campaigns. Twelve years ago I was opposed to Reed Smoot being elected, because in my judgment he did not stand square on the Prohibition question. The Legislature, however, elected him overwhelmingly. Six years ago I was decidedly in favor of his re-election, and in a quiet way did what I could in his favor. I am unqualifiedly in favor of his re-election at the present time. I look upon him as one of the most practical, levelheaded businessmen in the United States Senate. I am positive that he could command a salary of \$50,000.00 a year in more than one of the great banking institutions of our country. While he may not have possessed as much constructive and progressive ability as some senators on Democratic measures with which I would be in hearty accord, nevertheless I recognize his great ability and the need of just such a man in the Senate at the present time. I believe Reed Smoot to be the most valuable financial asset in the Senate, and that through his labors

there will be a saving of millions upon millions of dollars for this country. When I was on the Board of Directors of Provo Woollen Mills I admired his business acumen.

"You have my confidence. I have always admired your frankness. I rejoiced beyond measure when you were made Assistant Secretary of the Treasury. I have prayed for you as sincerely as I have ever prayed for Brother Smoot. I have no idea of taking an active part in any political campaign. I voted, as you know, for McKinley and Roosevelt; but at the same time I voted for you for Governor, although my own brother-in-law, Heber M. Wells, was running for the same office.

"I have not changed my mind, in the least, regarding the League of Nations. I would have preferred it without reservations, but inasmuch as reservations have been adopted I am not in favor of the League with reservations, rather than have it defeated. The *Post* correspondent misquotes me in intimating that I have had a change of heart, because of being converted to Brother Smoot's position. I have had no conversation whatever with Brother Smoot regarding the League of Nations."<sup>22</sup>

I answered with the following:

"My dear President Grant:

"Your letter of the 13th ultimo was duly received. It is not altogether a surprise, although I did think you might understand my viewpoint more perfectly than I believe you do. However, I do not wish to continue unnecessarily the discussion of a subject that is not pleasing.

"I note with deep interest your statement that my letter is 'not written in the proper spirit.' I admit that it was not a pleasing task for me to present so bluntly to you facts and conclusions which to my mind are unavoidable to one who is deeply in earnest and absolutely loyal to his political party. My letter was written as a partisan, to one professing to belong to the same party, who I thought was taking a most inconsistent course as a member of that party. Your letter is written, I take it, purely from a religious standpoint. I have no right to be surprised or to object to the

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<sup>22</sup> Heber J. Grant to James H. Moyle, 13 May 1920, Box 2, fd 5.

viewpoint expressed in your letter, but I wanted you to know just how I felt, because I do not want to fly under false colors not to embarrass any one, and particularly the Council of which I am a member.

"Six years ago, I presented the same views and attitude quite as clearly to our much lamented friend, Richard W. Young, and in a more limited way to John M. Knight, Frank R. Snow, Alonzo Young, and other Democratic members of the Council, each of whom appeared to sympathize with my views and mental attitude, although I think they all indicated that they would not express themselves as I did. I would not embarrass them by my political attitude and connection with them, any more than I would be willing to voluntarily do the same now.

"I greatly appreciate the confidence you express in me now, as well as the vote you cast for me twenty years ago. As I remember your utterances, however, at the time you desired for the defeat of your brother-in-law, Heber M. Wells, not because of his political affiliations and views, but because you believed that his defeat would be a blessing to him. However, I appreciate the confidence you then expressed in me by the way you voted.

"Please pardon me if wrong, for calling your attention to the fact that it was generally understood that the Legislature which was elected in 1908, and which re-elected Senator Smoot in 1909, was favorable to prohibition, and that Senator Smoot was reelected in the following January or February, before it was realized that the Smoot Federal appointee stood between the people in their demand for a prohibition law, and the Legislature. Was not your opposition to Senator Smoot due purely to his attitude toward prohibition, and not to his being elected United States Senator? At all events, if you opposed the election in November before he was elected in January or February of the next year, I do not think that any of the Democrats knew it, and therefore I remain in doubt as to whether you opposed the reelection of Senator Smoot, or merely opposed his attitude toward prohibition after he had been reelected.

"I am very glad indeed to know that your views are not changed intrinsically on the merits of the League of Nations. I feel as you do on that subject, although I can not resist the belief that the President is right in insisting upon America honoring its obliga-

tions to the allies, and his duty to mankind in insisting upon the League of Nations being a real, vital force in the accomplishment of the purpose for which it was organized.

"It is with deep regret that I find the Democratic party of Utah is to still have the opposition of the President of the Church, no matter what his political views may be. When Wilford Woodruff was President, the Republicans made capital out of what they alleged to be a fact and telegraphed it all over the State, that President Woodruff had voted early, and for the election of Frank J. Cannon. During his administration, choice and lovable good soul as he was, the Democrats never realized any partisan support from him, and never asked it. Presidents Snow and Smith were Republicans. The latter never failed to exhibit his partisanship as far as he could do so without becoming positively offensive, even to saying that if he had been in Congress when the much-desired and prayed for boon of Statehood was about to be given, he, as a Republican, would have opposed it or justified the action of the Republican party in opposing it, because Utah was so strongly Democratic. That, as I remember, was the substance of his address in the 17th Ward meeting house after a Democratic administration had given to Utah the greatest political boon it ever received, or ever can receive, State sovereignty.

"My very soul has been tried by the utterances of such men as John Henry Smith, whom I always loved and admired, but in political campaigns felt like fighting to the very limit because of his extreme partisanship, with no Democrat occupying a like position giving comfort to Democrats like myself by joining in openly fighting such men. It is true that Anthony W. Ivins has always in private, but at times with great reticence, expressed the living convictions of a real Democrat. Your theater speech of twenty years ago, and your utterances on the prohibition question which after all, was a moral and not a political issue, and the utterances of the ill-fated Moses Thatcher, constitute the only real partisan comfort that ever came from one of the twelve Apostles, so far as I can recall. Whatever their views, as a rule if it were in opposition to the Republicans the same was suppressed, while men like Apostles Lyman and John Henry Smith, Reed

Smoot, and others, made it their business to advocate Republicanism in season and out."<sup>23</sup>

### **A Complete Democrat**

I present the foregoing to illustrate my feelings at the time with regard to Senator Smoot and that of the leadership of the Church that continued to interfere for the Republicans in politics. But I remained a complete Democrat, and my first experience in Washington only strengthened my loyalty to the party.

I was present, for example, through the friendship of McAdoo, at the luncheon President Wilson gave at the White House to maybe twenty-five or thirty guests whom the President could trust on his return from Versailles. To us he unburdened his heavy-laden soul of the sentiments he had been compelled previously to withhold concerning that little "willful group." The seal of history is now being rapidly forged and will soon be indelibly stamped on the verdict of all forward-looking men in everlasting condemnation of the martyrdom of President Wilson by the Cabot Lodges and the rest who sought to destroy (and did temporarily) the work of that great political seer, who died as so many seers have done.<sup>24</sup>

All that I can remember now is that it was an outburst of expressions I have not the ability to repeat, but I never heard anything more impressive or profound. He repeated some of the obstacles he had encountered and was encountering, and his characterization of his opponents, speaking generally and not personally, was as furious as it was brilliant. His incidental references to history were also impressively illuminating and pertinent. The one thing I distinctly recall, but cannot adequately describe, was the picture he presented of the men and their machinations against his efforts and their country's welfare. And with historical references, he said they would be "impaled on history." I would not attempt to convey the brilliance and effectiveness of that speech. But I can say that (if he knows what is going on in the

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<sup>23</sup> James H. Moyle to Heber J. Grant, 2 June 1920, Box 2, fd 5.

<sup>24</sup> Undated memorandum, Box 8, fd 1. Senator Henry Cabot Lodge of Massachusetts led a group of isolationist senators in a fight to defeat the Treaty of Versailles that included the League of Nations. The ultimate failure of the Senate to approve Wilson's great dream was extremely detrimental to the president's health, hence Moyle's "martyrdom" reference.

minds of thoughtful men) that he has realized the fulfillment of the vision he then presented of the world's greatest tragedy—another world war. Millions of brave men are being slaughtered in battle and the lives of peaceful, unoffending men, women, and innocent children, with their homes, places of worship, businesses, hospitals, industry, and structures of civilization, are being destroyed as never before. That destruction has not yet reached its peak because America, the most powerful of all, is just commencing to fight to end that devastation. And only the Battle of Armageddon will be more horrible and destructive.

As Democratic National Committeeman, then and later, I was repeatedly in attendance at the councils of the party leaders who were distinctly Wilson men, and who later constituted the group who were for McAdoo for President, or were opposed to Al Smith, such men as Senator-leader Carter Glass, Senator and now Secretary of State Cordell Hull, former Secretary of the Navy Josephus Daniels, and Senator Claude Swanson of Virginia. But of all the confidences I enjoyed and highly prized, that at the White House luncheon was the most quiet and obscure but nevertheless the most dramatic and significant.<sup>25</sup>

Hull was from Tennessee, quiet rather than the opposite, and conservative without being reactionary. He went along with Bryan, Wilson, and then Roosevelt with good Democratic heart and soul, and was loyal to each. I think he agreed with Bryan and Wilson as to low tariff. They believed that if this country was to be a great manufacturer, raw materials must be kept free from tariff duties, and that manufactured articles should be protected incidentally by a tariff for revenue only. That as I remember was the position also of Grover Cleveland. It was not unfair as politics go for such protectionists to say that they were free traders. Their sympathies were Democratic and for the common man, but that Democracy was very different from that of the present. In those days the philosophy of the party was the Jeffersonian idea that that government which governs best governs least. Fundamentally, they were in sympathy with the doctrine of the great French economist who said (in effect) that "nature has interposed obstacles sufficient to the satisfaction of man's wants and government should not in-

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<sup>25</sup> Undated memorandum, Box 8, fd 1.

crease them." I changed my mind later as to that maxim, but always (like Bryan, Wilson, and Hull) sympathized with it.<sup>26</sup>

I discussed the Underwood Tariff in 1913 with Senator Underwood and asked him why they put pretty much every chief product of the West on the free list, and I protested against it, because every great industry of the East was put on the protected list. Underwood's reply was that President Wilson had gone along with the East for general compromise but recognized personally that it was an injustice to the West. (Underwood was a real candidate for the Presidency in 1924.) Apparently, the steel and coal industry had demonstrated to the President the need for protection just as our Western industries had demonstrated the same to me. I therefore told Underwood that I had stood with the party from Cleveland on down and with its tariff policies as best I could because of my belief in its fundamentals and virtues generally, but that I could not support or defend a tariff that placed essentially all of the main products of the West on the free list and at the same time put the products of the East on the protected list.

It is my recollection that under the Underwood Tariff of 1913 about one quarter of a billion dollars in tariff revenue was collected, and that the first time the total annual expenditures of the Government reached a billion dollars was about 1907 when Teddy Roosevelt was President. And his reply to Democratic criticism was that we had become a billion-dollar nation. The expenditure then of a billion was more tragic than the expenditure of a hundred billion is now. Then, half that sum was considered an impossibility by the best financiers, just as a three billion dollar liberty loan was considered unfathomable in its consequences in 1917 when the president of a large bank said to a gathering of financiers, "We know something about the distance of the sun from the earth and the marvelous movements of the planetary system, but we know nothing about the importance, magnitude and consequence of a loan of three billion." The thought frightened everyone.<sup>27</sup>

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<sup>26</sup> Memorandum dated Oct. 1944, Box 1, fd 2. Moyle undoubtedly referred to Frederic Bastiat (1801-50) whose pamphlet *Economic Sophisms* expounded classic free-tradism.

<sup>27</sup> Memorandum dated Oct. 1944, Box 1, fd 2.

### My Resignation

I tendered my resignation on the day President Harding took office. It was accepted instantly to take effect upon the qualification of my successor. Secretary Mellon, however, failed to recommend a successor to the President. I advised the Secretary that I was a Democratic National Committeeman, and had always been a fighting Democrat. I called Mellon's attention to the political impropriety of my continuing in his office, but he wanted me to remain, although he made no formal request.<sup>28</sup> I was the last assistant Cabinet officer of the Wilson administration to be retained.<sup>29</sup>

Several times thereafter I called the Secretary's attention to the importance of my leaving. I said on one occasion that we would both be misunderstood if I remained longer because of my partisan activities before coming to Washington. He smiled significantly and in his extremely quiet way said, "You are the one man the politicians have demanded that I should get rid of on political grounds." I replied that I did not blame them, and that I was sure Senator Reed Smoot was one of the politicians. I added that he was fully justified from a partisan viewpoint, because I had never left anything undone to accomplish his defeat. I then said, "If I have ever left anything undone to accomplish his defeat, may the Lord forgive me, for I did not intend it." I explained that it was not personal, but purely political, and because I was strongly opposed to a man being an ecclesiastical and a political leader at the same time. I stated we were both members of the same church, and so on.

Shortly after this conversation, I was speaking with Angus M. McLean, then on the board of the United States Finance Corporation, and now governor of North Carolina. He told me that Mellon had said to him that Senator Smoot had indeed demanded my removal on political grounds. McLean was a wealthy planter and manufacturer and an intimate friend of Internal Revenue Commissioner Blair, also of North Carolina.

In late July 1921, I went to Secretary Mellon and said, "I have been absent from the mountains too long. I have been here four

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<sup>28</sup> Undated memorandum, Box 8, fd 1.

<sup>29</sup> Memorandum dated Apr. 1943, Box 9, fd 7.

years and now I am going. If there is anything whatever needing my attention I will return and settle it. But I will leave prior to August 1." And I did, but he continued to pay my salary for a month after I left. Again, he never explicitly said he wanted me to remain, but his conduct clearly indicated that he did, and though he rarely said anything, he always obviously appreciated what I did and never reversed me on anything.

During the winter of 1928, former Utah Governor Heber M. Wells said to me and my wife at his home in Washington that Secretary Mellon told him that he did not want me to leave. When I left, he apparently called one of his attorneys, a Mr. Beal from Pittsburg, to do my work unofficially. Beal merely initialed papers and then passed them on to one of the other two assistants to sign. Mellon had had no trouble with my divisions of the Treasury, but did have with the others, so I believe he was glad to be relieved of the necessity of appointing another.<sup>30</sup>

#### **McAdoo for President**

I was admitted into the inner councils of the leaders of the Democratic National Convention from 1917 (when I was Assistant Secretary of the Treasury and McAdoo was so conspicuous in the party) down to 1932 when I voluntarily gave up my connection with the convention. I was Democratic National Committeeman and was elected four times with practically no opposition, the only man ever elected by the Utah party for more than one term. The opposition of William R. Wallace who tried to succeed me was feeble. He was ever after my only envious and virulent political enemy, so far as I know. While he was a commendable citizen who attained wealth, he lacked the stamina and courage necessary to command the respect and confidence of voters. If he had had courage and political sagacity he would probably have been Senator in the place of Professor Elbert Thomas, who was new and unknown outside of his university calling when a candidate in 1932.<sup>31</sup>

The most conspicuous of the inner Wilson-McAdoo circle of which I was a member were Senator Joe Robinson, later a leader

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<sup>30</sup> Memorandum dated Nov. 1928, Box 9, fd 3.

<sup>31</sup> Memorandum dated Sept.-Oct. 1942, Box 9, fd 6.

in the Senate, and Carter Glass, first a leader in the House and later Secretary of the Treasury and Senator of outstanding fame. Glass was a friend of McAdoo but harbored Presidential hopes himself and at the New York convention of 1924 maintained an open headquarters. Cordell Hull was then a leader in the House on the tariff and related issues. He was later Senator, chairman of the Democratic National Committee, and Secretary of State. I also worked closely in this connection with Senator Claude Swanson of Virginia, later Secretary of the Navy. I knew Josephus Daniels better than either Hull or Swanson, but he was also a rival of McAdoo's for the nomination in 1924, the same with Newton Baker. I was intimate with H.S. Cummings, chairman of the convention and later Attorney General under Roosevelt, and also Daniel C. Roper, who became Secretary of Commerce in the New Deal. All of these men were strong Wilson followers and most if not all were nominally McAdoo men.

My friendship with Cummings was welded strongly by the fact that when he was chairman of the party after the success of Harding in 1920, he was greatly embarrassed by the failure of prominent Democrats to aid him in securing the money and credit needed to take care of the financial obligations of the party. With about fifteen others, I responded by endorsing notes to banks for quite a sum. Those notes tormented Cummings throughout his tenure of office as chairman. And it gave me and the others great concern, because the Republicans persisted in defeating the Democrats for twelve years following Wilson, and patriotic Democrats were scarce when demand was made for payment of the notes, or renewal and security, as frequent deaths of those on the notes and financial depression struck a number of the signers, especially when serious demand was made for payment. When I was at home but visiting in the East much later, he urged me to be his guest at his home in Connecticut. We became very friendly. He was tall, slender, and a typical Yankee type, the most so of any of my official acquaintances.

It was during my activities on the Democratic National Committee following the Wilson administration or near its close that I became acquainted with Frank Hague, who had just come into some real importance in New Jersey and was attracting a wider attention. He was put on the finance committee of the convention.

He had been notably successful in financing the New Jersey organization. It was then that I got a first view of how he and others of his boss kind did business. Wilson would not play ball with them, and McAdoo, as a consequence, inherited some of Tammany's anti-Wilson opposition. He did not surround himself with their kind. Being so strongly a follower of Wilson and of McAdoo, I did not have much to do with Tammany types. Well, Hague was smart then (as time has since demonstrated him to be), but to me he was altogether a new type of politician. Those I knew were in the first place high-toned morally and politically, gentlemen of the finest type, really big-minded men who prided themselves on maintaining a high level of official conduct. They were men generally above reproach or question. Hague, on the other hand, was a recent success in practical politics who made no bones about saying freely that he was not in it altogether for his health. His ambition was to control Jersey City and New Jersey as Tammany did New York.

He was ready at his first meeting with us to solve the indebtedness problem in the same way he solved many problems in his domain. He said, for example, that when a contractor wanted to do state business he was asked to make a nice contribution to the Democratic Committee and so on. There did not seem to be any emphasis even on keeping it quiet. His open, frank, and breezy manner and utterances in the face of this rather shocked me, and there did not outwardly seem to be any crookedness about him. He appeared clean-cut and decidedly open but with no patience (as he clearly indicated) for indirect action. Go after what you want directly and emphatically was his advice and policy. That, I presume, accounts for the fact that he is still in business and flourishing.<sup>32</sup>

### **The Martyrdom of Woodrow Wilson**

Fortunately, the Democratic party is not the party of wealth in spite of some trouble with Hague-types. The other party cannot make the same claim. Why do the Republicans cater to the "fat fellows" who love only power more than money, or money more than humankind? Why do the big, fat financiers and their satellites hate Franklin Roosevelt as bitterly as they did Jefferson and

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<sup>32</sup> Memorandum dated Oct. 1944, Box 1, fd 2.

Jackson, and why did the lovers of human slavery and enemies of freedom hate Lincoln, and why did the isolationists hate Woodrow Wilson and his League of Nations to prevent war with a merciless hatred that made him a real martyr in the cause of human welfare and actually cause his death? I saw and met Wilson as he was just a few months before the League's defeat in the balm of mental greatness and good health, and then I saw him unable to stand, crumpled in an arm chair, at his last public reception only a few weeks before his untimely death. I attended his funeral in the same house, not as an employee in his administration but as a visitor from the great West in Washington. I never attended a funeral where there was greater solemnity and awe, and a deep and abiding pity mingled with regret and respect. And now as I look back upon the tragedy of his last months and survey his great work divested of the little things that pass away with time, the immortal greatness of him survives and grows brighter. It will become still more brilliant as the disinterested and impartial view his greatness and the fact that he was the greatest political seer of his time and will forever stand beside Jefferson and Lincoln in the history of the country. He had a vision of World War II if his League of Nations failed, and he died because of that failure. And he realized its consequences. Is it possible that the same leadership that caused that failure will lead America in the unequalled crisis and unparalleled emergency that now (1944) confronts the greatest of all nations in the hour of its greatest peril and the imminent peril of civilization itself? Only one totally ignorant of history would want to return the Republicans to power.<sup>33</sup>

I attended the meeting of the Democratic National Committee in Washington and was present during the unprecedented scenes that attended and followed the Doheny and other disclosures in the oil lease investigation of January 1924.<sup>34</sup> While there, Mrs. Moyle<sup>35</sup> and I, with members of the committee, met former President Wilson at his home on January 15, which was his last recep-

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<sup>33</sup> Memorandum dated Feb.-Apr. 1944, Box 10, fd 6.

<sup>34</sup> Undated memorandum, Box 8, fd 1. Reference is to the beginnings of the "Teapot Dome Scandal" that racked the Harding-Coolidge administration.

<sup>35</sup> Undated memorandum, Box 8, fd 1. Evelyn Moyle Nelson placed a note at the top of this memorandum indicating that she attended the Wilson reception with her father because Mrs. Moyle was ill.

tion, and while I felt it an honor to meet with him and to shake hands with him, it was not without regret because I realized that he was slowly but surely dying. His form was cramped and twisted as he sat in an armchair and raised his hand with manifest effort to save his strength. He did not again attend Keith's,<sup>36</sup> where he was accustomed to go every Saturday night when his health would permit, and where he invariably received a reception and demonstration unparalleled. The house was always filled, partly on his account, and many who did not attend either waited outside to see him at the beginning or close of the theater.

The newspapers did not overstate the scenes during his last hours and burial. People kneeled on the wet, cold ground, in inclement weather, with bared heads, in solemn prayer, before he died, and although Senators and most important officers of his administration and warmest friends were not invited in order to make the funeral private and like the simple life he chose to lead, tens of thousands stood on the street and in vacant lots, or climbed trees and stood in any place available to get a view of the cortege, some standing for many hours to hold desirable positions.

It was said the floral tributes must have cost \$50,000. They filled the Wilson home, the National Cathedral, and the balance went to the Walter Reed Army Hospital. Many of the floral pieces were such as I have never seen for size and beauty.

#### **Teapot Dome and the Defeat of McAdoo**

The meeting of the Democratic National Committee was called to fix the date of the National Convention (made June 24) and to provide for the payment of the Committee's indebtedness. It was largely successful through the payment of \$205,000 for giving the privilege to New York of entertaining the delegates. New York was determined to have it, and the financial condition of the committee contributed materially in the selection of the location. Holding the meeting in New York was considered unfavorable to Mr. McAdoo's candidacy because the city was so wet and the

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<sup>36</sup> Undated memorandum, Box 8, fd 1. Keith's was a noted vaudeville theater in Washington and a part of the famous "Keith's Circuit" subsequently incorporated into the RKO chain of theaters.

influence of Wall Street so great, and Mr. McAdoo, like President Wilson, mortally offended Tammany by refusing to make satisfactory appointments. The right kind of Tammany men, however, were given important positions, but that did not count. The committeemen, nevertheless, were very strong for Mr. McAdoo. Fifty-two delegates, a majority of all present, were openly and publicly for him.<sup>37</sup>

Mrs. Weston Vernon, the National Committeewoman from Utah, and I felt that we were fairly reflecting the sentiment of the state in being among the fifty-two. About half of the balance would not come out openly because their states had favorite sons, most of whom only looked for a compliment. Others did not feel their states were so clearly for McAdoo that they were justified in indicating the state's preference. This was particularly true in states like Illinois.

John W. Davis had only four committeemen openly in his favor. No other had more than two. Even in Alabama, with Oscar Underwood making a vigorous fight and regarded as the next leading candidate, the woman member from his state was openly for Mr. McAdoo, and her husband was at Chicago urging McAdoo to run.

Before the Doheny oil disclosures, the unmistakable trend of political thought was so strong for McAdoo that there was a very general effort to get on his bandwagon. Prominent and active leaders who had opposed him vigorously four years before were openly for him.<sup>38</sup>

The effect of the disclosures in the oil lease investigation was so exciting and hysterical that many ordinarily clear-headed men were taken off their feet. Excepting the Great War, the excitement was never before equalled, according to some of the old newspapermen. The excitement reached such a pitch that when Senator Smoot, in the presence of the Senate investigating committee, passed a note to Doheny merely asking him to call at his

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<sup>37</sup> Undated memorandum, Box 8, fd 1. McAdoo was a prohibitionist, or a "dry," while Governor Alfred Smith of New York was a leading "wet."

<sup>38</sup> Undated memorandum, Box 8, fd 1. McAdoo had done some legal work for Edward L. Doheny and his oil firm. Though his work had nothing to do with the scandal, McAdoo inevitably suffered politically because of his albeit innocent connection with Doheny.

office, demand was made for its contents and an explanation, and the day following the *Washington Times*, in a cartoon on its front page, pictured Navy Secretary Edwin Denby, Doheny, and Smoot with their backs to the wall, and a firing squad in the rear.

When McAdoo came to Washington after President Wilson's funeral, the feeling was that everybody connected with the administration who could or should have any knowledge of the oil lease and did not protest and anyone connected with oil interests must go into the discard. President Calvin Coolidge, because he had presided in the Senate when the resolution authorizing the investigation was considered and because he sat in the Cabinet when the transfers were made to the Interior Department and the leases were executed, was included in the undesirables.

Even after McAdoo voluntarily submitted himself to the committee for the fullest examination and disclosed that his relations with the Doheny companies commenced long after he left public office, and that his employment had nothing to do with the leases being investigated, and related only to the protection of American oil interests in old Mexico that were threatened with confiscation by the Mexican government, a service perfectly consistent with the policy both of the Democratic and Republican administrations, he was rendered unavailable, no matter how honorable the service, because the unthinking would not learn the facts, or explanations would have to be made in order to remove prejudice.

At first, McAdoo thought it was too ridiculous for consideration, for as he stated to the committee when and during the time he was attorney for the Doheny companies, they bore an enviable reputation and he was never asked or consulted concerning anything reprehensible, and if he had been he would have saved Doheny from his great misfortune. But the very atmosphere was so charged with the scandal, and some men who had been his supporters were in such doubt, that he, contrary to the advice of many of his managers, determined that before he proceeded further he must know the wishes of his supporters. This hesitation and doubt hurt him badly.<sup>39</sup>

Additionally, Al Smith got the help of wealth and fell into its hands and I suppose it made him. Being in the inner circles

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<sup>39</sup> Undated memorandum, Box 8, fd 1.

of the McAdoo men in 1924, I can say assuredly that McAdoo did not have wealth though he did have men of wealth behind him, but not "fat fellows" or "ones." Like Bryan, he was his own man, and had he become President, I would have been high in his administration. It looked at one time that he was surely going to make it.<sup>40</sup>

The Democratic National Committee was in debt in 1924 for something just under \$500,000.<sup>41</sup> This indebtedness was one of the potent reasons for the convention in 1924 going to New York which favored Smith over McAdoo. New York City paid the party half a million dollars for it, but even that did not get me off the notes. I do not remember for sure, but I believe I had signed in 1920 notes that were still running in 1924.

### The 1928 Campaign

In 1928, when Al Smith was the prospective candidate of the party for the Presidency, his representatives came to Utah. A meeting was had with them in Ogden at which I figured prominently in my advocacy of justice to the West in levying a tariff. I had talked to Al about it in New York in 1924 when I was fighting him in McAdoo's interest. He seemed interested but was half drunk in his headquarters surrounded with his gang and visitors of all kinds, so little was said. He was after people's votes against McAdoo and was not interested in philosophy or political policies.<sup>42</sup>

Al Smith's leader in this area was a fellow from Rock Springs named Fred W. Johnson who is now Commissioner of the Land Office in Washington. He presided at the big Al Smith rally in Ogden early in the campaign, being very active there and throughout Utah and Wyoming as Al's leader. In that Ogden

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<sup>40</sup> Memorandum dated Oct. 1944, Box 1, fd 2. Smith and McAdoo were the leading contenders for the nomination in New York, but neither could make headway against the other. The convention consequently turned to a dark horse, John W. Davis of West Virginia, who received the nomination after 104 ballots.

<sup>41</sup> Undated memorandum, Box 8, fd 6.

<sup>42</sup> Memorandum dated Oct. 1944, Box 1, fd 2. Smith's candidacy in 1928 was the greatest trial of Moyle's loyalty to the Democratic Party. See Gene A. Sessions, ed., "A View of James Henry Moyle: His Diaries and Letters," unpublished manuscript, 1974, CLA, pp. 56-67.

meeting I drew up a resolution on the tariff which I am sure influenced Smith in his final stand on the issue. The declaration was to the effect that the West should participate in the benefits and favors of the tariff equally with the East to prevent discrimination against the chief products of the West.<sup>43</sup>

### **A Taxonomy of Men**

The Democratic tariff policies of this period were also of concern to the Southern leaders, many of whom I knew well. As I look back over the Southern politicians and office holders I have known, my impression is that they are of a very fine, high type of manhood and stature and are devoted to the welfare of the country. Like Senator Glass, who is outstanding among them, they exhibit at times their human weaknesses, and some do not by any means measure up to the standards of the majority and fall far below it; but my acquaintance with official Southerners in their local capacities as well as in Washington have impressed upon me the fact that they are normally a religious-minded type of men, though they have unbelievers in the South as elsewhere. They are patriotic, hospitable, and are like Westerners rather than New Englanders or Easterners, who are more cold, blunt, and more devoted to business and money-making. In the North there is less religion and more city life than in the South. But I am deeply impressed with the superiority of the old type of Christian character, both in the North and South.

There is much good in men wherever I have been from the British Isles to Egypt, Assyria, and Turkey. I admire most, however, Northern rather than Southern Europeans. I believe the blood of Israel wandered from the Caspian to the Baltic up the Danube, down the Rhine, through Russia, Germania, Scandinavia, and the British Isles. But all are sons and daughters of a common Father with common attributes and destiny. The colder climates, however, seem to have developed the hardier and most enduring types. See Italy and Spain today to say nothing of Africa.

Much as I literally hate Hitler and Hitlerism, I cannot help admiring the German character and trust there will be no effort made to suppress any part of it but that which encourages war and

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<sup>43</sup> Undated memorandum, Box 8, fd 6.

the destructive powers of Satan and the hatred of the Jew, which is rapidly gaining ground even in this greatest nation of the liberty-loving. It is one of the most perplexing conundrums of the day to one like myself who devoutly believes in their Abrahamic inheritance and promises. When will their miseries end and the light of the Gospel of Jesus Christ shine in their lives?

It may be that because I have been looking for it from childhood and want to see it that I believe the time is approaching, although it seems afar off, when they will see that light and so live in and be guided by it, that they will become what they are to become a chosen and favored people, and not be known mostly for money-making and -retaining qualities. Actually, they seem to spend money freely, though I do not know whether they spend grudgingly. I have met Jews whom I greatly admire and not a few of them, but am forced to confess that it is hard to resist the temptation to regard them on the whole not as desirable as the average Anglo-Saxon race, notwithstanding all of the good they have done for mankind. May we all have charity for each other and for all men.<sup>44</sup>

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<sup>44</sup> Memorandum dated Oct. 1944, Box 1, fd 2. See additionally for the period of this chapter the following: interview with Evelyn Moyle Nelson by Gene A. Sessions, 20 June 1974, transcript of twelve pages, CLA, pp. 2-5, 1-12; interview with Sara Moyle Creer by Gene A. Sessions, 3 July 1974, transcript of nineteen pages, CLA, pp. 6-10; interview with James D. Moyle by Gene A. Sessions, 11 Aug. 1974, transcript of eighteen pages, CLA, pp. 8-11; memorandum dated Aug. 1943, Box 10, fd 2 (Item 5); memorandum dated Aug. 1943, Box 10, fd 2 (Item 4); Sessions, "View of James Henry Moyle," pp. 32-67.

## Chapter 8

# MISSION PRESIDENT

### A Revelation

On the organization of the Ensign Stake in 1904 I was made a high councilor, which position I occupied until 1931, when with the remaining two other original members of the quorum, I was released.<sup>1</sup> That was the extent of my life as a churchman in spite of my belief that I had maintained a fearless consistency and stability in religion in the face of a violent conflict politically with the leadership of the Church. This was not an easy role for a Mormon in the period of transition in Utah from a complete union of church and politics to a condition of separation of church and state. Indeed, that was an accomplishment that many intelligent Mormons and most all non-Mormons believed was impossible. For example, William N. Williams, prominent in business and devoted to the Church, said to me, "I think it was when the *Deseret News* attacked you in a leading editorial that I was afraid your political activity would lead you out of the Church." So even my friends regarded my situation and conditions as critical and vital. But fortunately I ploughed my furrows straight and without faltering. When the smoke and dark clouds of the battle (for it was one literally) cleared and the prevailing calm rested on the scene, I

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<sup>1</sup> Undated memorandum, Box 8, fd 1; James Henry Moyle Collection, Library-Archives, Historical Department, Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City, hereinafter cited as CLA. All references hereinafter to box and folder (fd) are for items from this collection.

appeared worthy religiously to be president of the most prominent American mission, the Eastern States. And I was told by President Grant that I could remain there as long as I would. I served more than four and a half years until President Grant advised me to accept the call of President Roosevelt.<sup>2</sup> Moreover, President Grant said to me later that he had suggested to the council the consideration of my name for Apostle and that the objection raised against it was my age. I think that was about 1930. Joseph J. Cannon said to me about that time the *Deseret News* prepared articles on prospective possibilities and that I was among them.<sup>3</sup>

At a previously arranged meeting with the First Presidency of the Church in the fall of 1928, President Grant stated that they would like for me to take charge of the Eastern States Mission. It was a very great surprise, but he said he thought that it would be a nice way for me to wind up my career. I related the condition of my affairs, particularly emphasizing the fact that I had secured a credit from the Deseret National Bank of \$50,000 for the gas and oil business of my two sons, Gilbert and James; that James was very recently out of school and Gilbert was only a few years older; that Gilbert was very successful in the business, but was inclined to take chances and being an exceptionally good salesman had involved the company in extensive credits without there having been any capital to speak of put into the business; that should they fail it would involve a loss to me that would be very serious as my capital is limited.<sup>4</sup>

After hearing this story, Bishop Nibley said that if he had known of the financial liability involved he would not have been in favor of my taking the mission. We had quite a discussion, the purport of which was that I had always been on hand to be of service to the Church and desired to so continue, but as I presented facts that indicated that I would be taking great hazards in leaving the state, I was strongly impressed with the fact that I was probably

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<sup>2</sup> Memorandum dated Aug. 1943, Box 8, fd 3.

<sup>3</sup> Memorandum dated Aug. 1943, Box 10, fd 2.

<sup>4</sup> Undated memorandum, Box 8, fd 1. See Gene A. Sessions, ed., "A View of James Henry Moyle: His Diaries and Letters," unpublished manuscript, 1974, CLA, pp. 130-38.

making a mistake in being so concerned and that the boys would get on all right without me.

I returned home where the family had gathered for dinner, I think celebrating the anniversary of our wedding. The children were all there, excepting Evelyn who was in New York. They all insisted, excepting Henry, that I had done enough for the Church and was entitled to a rest rather than to take on greatly increased responsibilities.

On the following Sunday, I attended church and sat on the stand. Two young university students were speaking as home missionaries from other wards. One of them, to my very great surprise, said, "I was never in this building before, but do not feel altogether a stranger because James H. Moyle is present." We had never met and I had no idea as to who he was. He continued, "Because when my mother was a little girl he brought the Gospel to the family and converted her to the Church." I immediately realized that he was a grandson of Henry P. Lindsay, whom I had found in North Carolina under unusual circumstances heretofore related. He had a fine, lovely wife and some nice children, all of whom joined the Church, and he later came to Salt Lake where he engaged in business and reared a splendid family. Notable among his granddaughters is the wife of the present Presiding Bishop of the Church. The children were all well-married and a great credit to the family. I was then more than seventy years old, but my mind went back to the scenes of my activity as a missionary in the days when to be a Mormon missionary was about as unpopular and dangerous a calling as could be found. Joseph Standing had shortly before been shot in cold blood in an adjoining state because he refused to discontinue teaching the Gospel. He was a young man about my age. Then the unusual work of my mission as a boy passed through my mind in a sweeping panorama. I thought of Brother Lindsay who was a man of more than ordinary intelligence and good standing. The family had been so elevated and their conditions so improved and their prospect so superior to what they were, that the thought flashed through my mind in a most impressive way that if I, as a boy not yet through with school, could be the means of accomplishing so much good, what may I not do now, with the broad experience that I had had and the capabilities that I had developed.

It was one of the most impressive evidences to me of inspira-

tion that I had ever enjoyed and I returned the next day to the First Presidency, whom I had left after my previous interview with the understanding that I would take the matter of the Eastern States Mission under consideration and determine what to do. I said to President Grant that I too had had a revelation and was ready to go on to the mission without the slightest doubt that it would prove beneficial and satisfactory to me. I asked how long they would want me to be on the mission and they said, "Oh, two or three years," and I said, "Well, let's make it two" and the matter rested there.

### **Eastern States Mission**

I arrived in New York on January 11, 1929. President Henry H. Rolapp, with whom I had roomed in college, was very anxious to leave due to appointments that he had made in Los Angeles, anticipating that I would have been there a day or two earlier. He said that, anticipating my coming, he had arranged for the leading missionaries of the mission to be present and that he would like for me to meet with them after he had made such explanation as he thought desirable of the work he was transferring to me. He did that in a very short time and then we had an interview of about two hours with the young men who constituted the leaders of the mission, as I remember, eight or ten of them. Judge Rolapp, who had already moved from the mission house in Brooklyn to a hotel in New York, left me, saying that the secretary, Wilbur West, was thoroughly familiar with the mission and all its activities and believed he could give me any details that I might need. Elder West was about twenty years of age and had been in the mission about a year. I do not recall the number of missionaries but I think there were about 125, but that number soon increased to 165. They were scattered from Massachusetts to the District of Columbia, including all of the states bordering on the Atlantic. As I look back upon the activities of the work that was involved, it seems almost amazing that a group of such young, inexperienced youths should be in charge of the same.

I had said to the First Presidency in our preliminary interviews that I had visited the branch of the Church in New York City ever since my first visit to New York in 1889, and that I was somewhat familiar with the character of the meeting places where

church services were carried on; that they were so far below my ideas of what they should be and it would be one of my primary aims to improve them and hoped to have their support, or something to that effect. I worked incessantly to accomplish that and throughout my entire mission, with the result that I found in the mission five meeting places owned by the Church, located in Brooklyn, Philadelphia, Baltimore, Palmyra, and Fairview, and doubled that number.

The structure in Brooklyn was appropriate except that it lacked classrooms. It consisted of a chapel on the main floor and a basement equipped for holding meetings that was also used for dancing and entertainments, with few other auxiliary facilities of consequence. The building in Philadelphia consisted of one-half of a three-story double residential structure. The ground floor was used as an auditorium, the floor above for classrooms and Relief Society, and the third floor for classrooms and one room for missionaries. The auditorium would accommodate about a hundred people. The building in Baltimore was erected for a church and consisted of one room with a gallery and small entrance hall. The fourth was located at Palmyra. That building had been used by some lodge and was not constructed for religious purposes but served our purpose. The fifth was in a village called Fairview, near Waynesboro, Pennsylvania, on the Maryland line. It consisted of one room with very roughly constructed, irregular walls with primitive board benches that were in very bad condition and practically no other accommodations.

My predecessor, Judge Rolapp, had prided himself on the amount of tithing that was returned to the Presiding Bishopric. I reversed that policy and insisted that the money should be used in improving the facilities for holding church services, with the result that we spent more than \$3,000 on improving, renovating, and painting the chapel in Brooklyn. We also spent several thousand dollars in enlarging the auditorium at Philadelphia and making of the third floor an amusement hall and place of entertainment and otherwise materially improving the accommodations.<sup>5</sup>

In Palmyra we installed an appropriate baptismal font, replac-

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<sup>5</sup> Undated memorandum, Box 8, fd 1. Local officers were given much more latitude on the disposition of tithing funds in 1929 than they are today.

ing the outdoor cement pool that was constructed in the rear of the barn at the Joseph Smith Farm in Palmyra. We sunk a well that supplied water for shower baths for males in one place and females in another in order that our missionaries, when they visited Palmyra, could enjoy these accommodations, as I had determined there should be a mission conference there each July 24 in celebration of Pioneer Day. The male missionaries did pretty much all of their traveling on the public highway and the accommodations in the farm house of the Joseph Smith farm were not sufficient to accommodate any more than the family who occupied it and the officers of the mission, and, in fact, not that much.<sup>6</sup>

### **Miraculous Evidence**

In Palmyra was Willard W. Bean, the caretaker of the Church properties in the area for more than twenty years. I was impressed with the research Bean had done on the early history of Joseph Smith and the Church in western New York. He had searched old newspapers, available records, and anything obtainable on the subject. He discovered that there was no other source of information available to Joseph Smith than the little, rural library at Palmyra, which had nothing much in it but government reports. It was a land office center. This was the Prophet's source of information when he organized the Church at the age of twenty-four. Considering the Word of Wisdom alone, and all of its advantages as are apparent in my family and the families of my acquaintances, it could not have been anything but miraculous.

I suffered the normal ailments of childhood, but at mid-life, and notably during my forties, I was at a serious disadvantage mentally because I suffered greatly from bilious headaches, which I think I inherited from my father. He likewise complained of them and so far as I remember they were his only serious disability, though I remember his taking "dutch drops" for kidney or bladder relief. Father was so depressed at times with biliousness that he remained home a day or two at a time. But anyway, I remember that during my first trip to Los Angeles in 1899, I met the son of a stonecutter beside whom I had worked on the temple block. The son was then a prominent wholesale liquor dealer, and the family

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<sup>6</sup> Undated memorandum, Box 8, fd 1.

doctor had advised me to drink dinner wine for relief to my stomach trouble I regarded as quite serious. At all events, I would have given most anything for relief. So I ordered from this man several cases of dinner wines.

I must admit that I had another inducement to make the purchase. I have now both son and son-in-law, fine clean, temperate living, and generally consistent Latter-day Saints, who are in the same state of mind as to the use of liquor that I was at forty. Their social relations are almost the same. Their circle consists of popular, prominent, socially ambitious, and otherwise temperate persons who are caught in the entangling social cocktail web that seems to constitute the most bewitching evil of the time, bewitching because it is so seemingly innocent if used in moderation but so destructive because it is an entering wedge of evil. It leads to more sin and social degeneracy than hardcore whiskey drinking, because it is more subtle.

My wife and I were caught in that web but fortunately for only a brief period. Our associates were of the most choice social class, members of outstanding families—Youngs, Jenningses, Sharps, Caineses, et al. Even the charming and most popular non-Mormon preacher of the time whose conduct was always decorous and highly enlivening belonged to our social circle. That association soon demonstrated how impossible it is for Latter-day Saints even of the moderate and temperate kind to be liquor drinkers in their social contacts. The end for us came when the drinking in one of the choicest homes became so hilarious and uproarious and unbecoming (to put it gently) that we concluded it would be our last. That association continued for some years after without any very fatal results, for all were of a high order mentally, but none were elevated by it, and before serious trouble ensued, the group dissolved. The minister quit early, and took up a splendid work with inebriates that distinguished his long and brilliant career here in Utah.

Of the group whose liquor drinking gatherings we discontinued when I was about forty, not one of those who continued remained members of the Church; most of them became Christian Scientists. Contrary to the plea now made that you have to drink cocktails in order to retain the friendship and association of those who do drink, we were respected after we quit the same as before, except that the association was not so active and inti-

mate. The old friends were pleased to attend the parties we gave, and Mrs. Moyle was always socially active and loved to entertain and be entertained.<sup>7</sup>

### **Building Program**

I persistently urged that an appropriate building should be purchased or erected in New York City, and succeeded in obtaining an appropriation for the same of \$250,000. My policy and theory was that we should have an appropriate building first in New York City and then another in Washington. The membership of the Church was so divided in their opinion as to what should be done that it seemed very difficult to reconcile the wishes of all or any very large number. We secured an option on a four-story building on Ninety-fifth Street in New York that could be purchased for something like \$250,000, but which would need extensive changes and improvements the First Presidency agreed should be made. Presidents Nibley and Ivins visited New York for the purpose of determining whether the building was desirable and approved of it, but as soon as word was obtained that the Mormons were going to locate a church in the structure the adjoining neighbors got together and purchased the property to keep us out. Prejudice in those days was very different from what it is now. There would be no trouble about such a matter at present. The failure of the membership of the Church to agree on a location and the desire on the part of so many to have another church on Long Island, one in New Jersey, and another in New York City, held the matter in suspense until the Presidency concluded to erect the building in Washington. President Ivins was particularly enthusiastic about the Church having an appropriate building in Washington and showed me, when I accepted the call, a picture of the idea that they had of what it should be. It consisted chiefly of the central part of the front of the Salt Lake Temple that supports the Angel Moroni. The appropriation for the Church in New York was consequently transferred to Washington, with the result that the chapel there, costing more than half a million dollars, was erected.

When I left the mission July 19, 1933, to become Roosevelt's Commissioner of Customs, I had just had the privilege of dedicat-

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<sup>7</sup> Memorandum dated May 1944, Box 10, fd 6.

ing the statue of Moroni that surmounts the Washington Chapel at the height of 165 feet above the street. The building was not quite complete then, but it was ready for use and was dedicated the following November.<sup>8</sup>

That chapel in Washington was then and still is the most beautiful and substantial of all the chapels of the Church. It is built of steel and Utah marble surmounted with the life-sized figure of the Angel Moroni with his extended bugle gilded in gold. It is located on the Avenue of the Presidents (Sixteenth Street) and Columbia Road directly north of the entrance to the White House. It is now central in Washington's most popular and choice residential North West section adjoining the residences, embassies, and legations of the foreign governments. It is near and on the way to the main entrance to Washington's beautiful Rock Creek Park. A lady of choice tastes, not a Mormon, who visited the building while I was there, said it reminded her of a jewel box. Even shortly after its dedication in November of 1933, its auditorium was frequently filled and sometimes overflowing.<sup>9</sup>

At New Bedford, Massachusetts, was an old branch of the Church that was in very inferior quarters with nothing but a single room that had to be used for all purposes. The greater part of the members of the branch were weavers from England, and most of them were out of work because of the Depression, and in 1930 the Church authorized me to spend a sufficient amount to build a neat little chapel for them. The excavation and foundation and much of the structure were erected with the labor of the members of the branch who were out of employment, and some of those who were employed worked on the building nights and holidays. At night, an arc light was set up and the wives of the working men served refreshments. It not only resulted in a nice little church structure fitted for the needs of the membership in New Bedford but it stirred up great interest and activity on the part of the members and impressed many nonmembers in the area.

At Pittsburgh, we purchased for about \$16,000 a very neat, well-located and appropriate building with accommodations for the auxiliary organizations of the branch. The structure had been

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<sup>8</sup> Undated memorandum, Box 8, fd 1.

<sup>9</sup> Memorandum dated Sept.-Oct. 1942, Box 9, fd 6.

erected and used by the Swedenborgians. That proved to be a very good investment and served to increase interest and activity on the part of the members and much greater attendance of nonmembers. We painted and improved the building and generally fixed up the grounds.

In East Orange, we purchased an old Episcopal church, the basement of which was so reconstructed that it provided a good amusement hall and place for auxiliary needs. The building was in bad condition as the financial affairs of the old church were such that they had been unable to keep it up and sold it very cheaply. I do not remember now the amount, but I recall that it was a very well-located building. That transaction proved also to be quite a success and an attractive addition to the buildings of the Church. It was nice, and better than the original five in the mission except for Brooklyn.

At Erie, Pennsylvania, the branch meetings had been held for a long time in a public hall, an old, wooden structure with lodge accommodation and used principally as such. Due to the Depression, that was also a financial loss and I bought it for something like \$3,000. Sufficient money was then spent on it to put it in good condition and to improve the grounds around it until it was made comparatively attractive, with ample accommodation for auxiliary uses. Again, many out-of-work members did most of the work gratis.

At Buck Valley, in northwestern Maryland, two missionaries had done most of the work of constructing a one-room, rustic place of meeting, which was furnished and equipped during my administration with another room built in addition for the accommodations of the missionaries located in that locality and as an auxiliary association room. It was started before I arrived and practically all the work was done by missionaries. It was very rude and simple.

The building at the village near Waynesboro was old and the north wall so badly cracked and considered so dangerous that we had that wall torn down and replaced, the inside walls resurfaced with some sort of manufactured boards and the pioneer benches replaced with appropriate chairs, and the structure was very greatly improved.

At Brooklyn, in addition to spending the \$3,000 in improving

the condition of the building and increasing its accommodations, we purchased for about \$1,500 a large pipe organ from a dismantled church, out of which the musical genius of the branch, a German organist named Leski, managed to make a very fine organ for the chapel, which was not completed when I left the mission.

At Baltimore, the church was located in a section that was so far taken over by blacks that I deemed it wise to accept \$10,000 for the structure and recommended that it be sold, which was done, and I had the money deposited in the National City Bank of New York as a trust fund for the members of the Church in Baltimore. That constituted the nucleus and beginning of a structure costing \$35,000 that was constructed after I left the mission. Since I left the mission in 1933, so far as I know, no additional churches have been purchased or erected, excepting one in Philadelphia and that in Baltimore. I see by the *Deseret News* (January 8, 1944), however, that a new church is being erected in Fairview, Pennsylvania.

Thus the old structures in the mission were greatly improved and the number of churches increased 100 percent during my administration.<sup>10</sup>

As president of the Eastern States Mission, I urged the Brethren to create the stake in New York. To do my part, I created a stake organization in every detail and urged its being formalized into a stake, which was done shortly after I left the mission. It would have been done before but for the Great Depression that drove New Yorkers west where they could live more cheaply. Apostle George F. Richards was sent to the mission the year before I left to advise whether the stake should be created and he advised postponing the determination of the matter until it was certain that the member population in and near New York was sufficiently stable to justify it. The members in Washington also urged for some time the organization of a stake in Washington. Later and to advance the same, they followed the example I set in New York and completed the unauthorized organization that only needed that name and seal of approval.<sup>11</sup>

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<sup>10</sup> Undated memorandum, Box 8, fd 1.

<sup>11</sup> Memorandum dated Sept.-Oct. 1943, Box 10, fd 3.

### Innovation

I had been on a mission fifty years before and was greatly surprised to find that the methods of carrying on the propaganda work for the Church had not been greatly changed from my early experience. House to house canvassing, or "tracting," was the only activity of the missionaries. I was immediately impressed with the importance of modernizing the missionary activities and wrote the First Presidency urging that if they could give us some time of Dr. James E. Talmage or B. H. Roberts, we could do a great work over the radio in New York. We had for a beginning one very good friend, a Brother Stanley McAllister, the mechanical engineer of the Columbia Broadcasting Company, through whom we made friends in connection with the work that was then being done by the Tabernacle Choir, who opened the way for the enlargement, without great cost, of broadcasting over the radio. The authorities replied that they could not spare the services of either of the gentlemen I wanted. I was so deeply impressed with the importance of using the radio that at a conference of our leading missionaries I urged them to be on the lookout for opportunities of speaking over the radio and said that I was so deeply impressed with its importance that if we could not get help from Salt Lake we would do the work ourselves. As a result, young Elder Parkinson of Preston, Idaho, a mere boy, secured for a small amount the opportunity of delivering an address of the radio at New Bedford, Massachusetts. But the real opening came at Wilkes-Barre, Pennsylvania, when D. Glenn Brown of Provo and John M. Anderson of Logan secured the permission of the proprietor of the chief of two stations there to fill in any vacancy which might occur. I think Brown was about twenty years of age and both were farmer boys of no special education outside of a little, maybe, at the Brigham Young Academy and Logan Agricultural College. The young men prepared their own addresses, which we supervised, and the opportunity soon came in the summer of 1930, and on August 10 they were given a half hour each Sunday evening, permanently, which was utilized during the balance of my missionary work and for some time after. During the half hour they sang Mormon hymns and delivered a fifteen-minute sermon. That proved such a success that the work was extended to Syracuse and Jamestown, New York, and then to Wilmington, the principle city of Delaware.

About that time a like opportunity was given in New Bedford, Massachusetts. The work rapidly increased until we had stations in those places named and at Altoona, Pennsylvania, and in Washington. And when I left the mission, and for a considerable time before, we had seven stations going regularly, with scarcely any cost to the Church. The musical programs were given by our missionaries with some rare exceptions. And before I left the mission more than a thousand sermons had been delivered over the radio, a work that has not been equalled since. To coordinate the work, I called Elder Brown to be Mission Radio Director, and he did a splendid work.

The success with radio convinced me that other forms of publicity were necessary. I found eight districts in the mission each presided over by an elder. I increased the number to twelve and had a publicity director appointed in each district and one for the mission. The work they accomplished was almost phenomenal in getting publicity in the papers. The radio work was the first in missionary fields, and I understand ours was the first organized effort at mass publicity. There had been some address delivered in Los Angeles where a number of Mormons were located and where large branches of the Church existed, but no other mission had ever undertaken such a program to use the available sources of publicity. The radio work was not kept up continuously in all the places stated, but where one station was lost others were obtained, so that it continually averaged about seven, and was seven when I left the mission. One of the very active stations was that in Paterson, New Jersey, and there were others at Harrisburg, Buffalo, and Washington.

We decided that we should place Mormon exhibitions in the various state fairs and expositions in the mission. The first and most successful of these was at Springfield, Massachusetts. In the main hall we rented a prominent space for \$200 and made an exhibit there that attracted very great attention and resulted in the distribution of several thousand tracts. We found that the Christian Scientists had also been successful in using exhibitions. As I recall, we had only about two weeks after learning that we could have the space to prepare for it. We telegraphed to Salt Lake City for literature and publicity material that had been used elsewhere, but we were unable to get it. One of the members of the Church in Brooklyn, a German mechanical genius, had constructed a

miniature reproduction of the Salt Lake Temple that we had used in a celebration at Palmyra. We had that brought down and made it the central feature of our display with a large banner over it on which we printed: "See What God Hath Wrought." We covered the sides of the space with the best publicity matter we could get, reproducing health statistics on Utah and the Mormons to support the Word of Wisdom. In the course of a few days we got out a little folder containing very pertinent and interesting facts which, with the banner and these publications on the side of the room, made it sufficiently attractive to lead a great many people to call and accept, at least carry away, our tract—people who would not receive tracting missionaries in their homes.

Another innovation in publicity was that of using moving pictures. Nothing of the kind had been used before in publicity (so far as I know) in any mission, with the exception of some smoked-glass slides that were very inadequate and not easily handled. I introduced the use of moving pictures and made a trip to Yucatan in February 1931, where my son James took sixteen-millimeter films of the ruins and remains of pre-Columbian structures unearthed by archeologists in support of the Book of Mormon.<sup>12</sup> Mrs. Moyle and my son's wife also made the trip, and we visited Chichen Itza and Uxmal. We were the guests of Dr. Sylvanus G. Morley, whom the Carnegie Institute of Washington had kept in Central America for many years unearthing old ruins. One of his books of a thousand pages describes the ruins at Copan, Guatemala. He had spent ten years there and about the same at Chichen Itza, which archeologists claim had a population of probably 300,000 people before the days of Columbus. Dr. Herbert J. Spinden, who had been the professor of Archeology at Harvard and was then the Curator of the Museum in Brooklyn, planned our trip. He is the author of numerous books on American archeology, and he and Morley are probably the two leading archeologists of the United States.<sup>13</sup>

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<sup>12</sup> Undated memorandum, Box 8, fd 1. These films were subsequently copied and given to the Church Historian's Office by Henry D. Moyle.

<sup>13</sup> Undated memorandum, Box 8, fd 1. See Morley's classic, *The Ancient Maya*, 3rd ed. (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1947), and Spinden's major work, *Ancient Civilizations of Mexico and Central America*, 3rd ed. rev. (New York: American Museum of Natural History, 1928). See also James D. Moyle, *Remembrances* (Ogden,

### Excursions to Mexico

In 1907 I had spent about six weeks in Mexico in company with James Chipman, Ira Wines, and my son, Walter. We went there primarily for the purpose of considering the advisability of purchasing for a syndicate a large tract of land on the Panico River about twenty-five miles above Tampico, and incidentally for a winter trip vacation.

We purchased the land for the incorporators of the Utah Tropical Fruit Company of which Chipman was president and I think I was vice president, at all events a director and attorney. The company made extensive improvements on the property in clearing and planting orchards of citrus fruits and purchased a cattle business in that section. Both the fruit trees and cattle did well until the rebellion that continued for years and resulted in the killing of Madero, the President of Mexico, and the final setting up of a new regime. Our cattle and all our improvements were destroyed by the warring factions, for which claim was made against the Mexican Government. That claim was just settled.

Chipman looked after the property until about the time of his death when it was turned over to the secretary or treasurer of the company, Charles Wells; the company was abandoned recently when oil was developed near our property and we sold the same which reimbursed the stockholders so far as I remember.

After examining the property, we then visited a number of the leading cities of Mexico, especially Mexico City, Vera Cruz, and Toledo. While at Toledo we visited ten miles away the great pyramid at Cholula that covers forty acres and is about two hundred feet high. On its summit is an old Spanish chapel that replaced the Aztec temple the invaders found in very active use. Cholula was one of the most sacred places in Mexico and believed to be the headquarters of the god Quetzalcoatl, sometimes called "the feathered serpent," the feathers representing the air and the serpent representing the earth, making it the god of earth and air. He was white and had a beard and some of the historians say that he corresponded to our Christ. From my research I conclude the same thing. He taught them the arts of peace and such opposition to war that although the people living at Cholula and thereabout

were highly advanced in civilization and rich they were so opposed to war that they became easy victims of the greed of the Spaniards. The pyramid is composed of earth and uncut stone, excepting the wide stairway that leads to the summit.

We visited the Pyramid of the Sun in the Valley of Mexico that covered about ten acres, was two hundred feet high, and was surfaced with stone and cement. At that time but little of the pyramid was excavated and it looked like a conical hill with shrubbery growing on it, excepting that part that had been uncovered that consisted chiefly of the entrance and west side where the stairway led to the summit. There had been some excavation also in front of and near the pyramid that exposed the presence of a cement street or highway that, though covered with a foot or two of debris and shrubbery, extended out into the valley for miles. On the opposite side of the street and very nearby is the Pyramid of the Moon that was still unexcavated excepting to a very slight extent in 1931.

Beside this immense street was unearthed the basement of buildings that showed a high state of civilization because of the fine workmanship and cement that not only covered the floor but the sides of the rooms. Nothing remained but the basement or a small part of the first story of the building. It was apparent that the basement or main floor of the building had a bathroom, which appeared from its size and the outlet for the water.

When we visited the same place in 1931, the Pyramid of the Sun was completely uncovered and a tunnel run into its center that disclosed that the interior of the Pyramid was earth and the debris of the vicinity.

In 1931 we found what did not appear in 1907, namely the remains of the Temple of Quetzalcoatl, evidently an immense structure as the foundations covered many acres, all of which were covered over with a deep deposit of accumulated debris in 1907.

In 1931 we spent a week at Mexico City. Mrs. Moyle and I were entertained at the Embassy by J. Reuben Clark, Jr., the American Ambassador. It is one of the best in the Foreign Service. Clark was entertaining at the same time Thomas S. Gates, President of the University of Pennsylvania, and his wife. He took us all, with James and Louise (Mrs. James D. Moyle), to Cuernavaca. His predecessor, Dwight Morrow, owned a beautiful villa there, the use of which

he had turned over to Clark. We were entertained there and took moving pictures of the same, also of the pyramid outside of Cuernavaca and other places we visited in Mexico and Yucatan.

We also visited the archeological ruins nearer to Mexico City. I was greatly interested in the Temple or Pyramid of the Serpent in the suburbs of Mexico City. That was not excavated when I was in Mexico before. It is surrounded at the base by large, flat stones on which is an upraised carving of serpents, one after the other all around it. Pictures were taken of it. Out of the city a short distance an ancient village had been covered with lava under which was found the bones of a number of human beings that were well preserved. That also was a new excavation.

We went from New York to Havana and from there to Progreso, the main port in Yucatan. A strong south wind was blowing the water from the south shore making the water too shallow for the tender to leave the dock. As a result, we had to remain on the steamer several miles out in the Gulf for about a day and night while the considerable though not severe wind subsided.<sup>14</sup>

From Progreso we went to Merida, the capital of Yucatan, a city of about 100,000 people. It was built by the Spaniards soon after the conquest of the country and is occupied largely by the Spanish population of the peninsula, a very attractive city with a most interesting public market. The hotels are old and built after styles that are so different from those common to civilization now that they were very interesting. We had large, high-ceilinged rooms with highly-ornamented woodwork and tile floors, with toilet and bath in a large room built for sleeping or living quarters.

From Merida we made the trip by train and motor car to Muna, and from there in Ford cars to Uxmal (pronounced "Ushmal"). All of the few railroads in Yucatan are narrow-gauged, but the one to Muna was the crudest I ever saw. Additionally, Yucatan had no rail or passable road to the other states in Mexico.

The most impressive sight we witnessed on the entire trip occurred as we approached Uxmal. The very narrow road for several miles is through what they call the "bush," which is densely timbered country with heavy underbrush. There suddenly came

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<sup>14</sup> Memorandum dated Feb. 1936, Box 15, fd 3. James D. Moyle made some minor corrections of detail in this paragraph after reading his father's version.

into view the top of the Pyramid of the Dwarf, which we soon reached. It was extremely impressive because of the manifest antiquity of the pyramid and the sudden change from a vast area of wilderness to bush and what was evidently a magnificent center of a highly civilized people. The pyramid probably does not cover more than an acre, is built entirely of stone, and reaches a height of about 150 feet. It is surmounted by a shrine or small temple or place of worship.

The long rows of wide stone steps leading to the top are very steep. For that reason a heavy rope was stretched from the top to the bottom with which visitors would protect themselves from falling. Not very far away are very extensive remains of what is called the nunnery because of the large court and the buildings surrounding the same with single rooms and nothing but a door entering the same. Then we saw a great number of remains of temples and structures of various kinds that had not been excavated to any extent, so we saw them in their native condition. Most of the structures were partially fallen and considerable portions of the pyramid had broken away leaving the surface rough and too steep for very much debris to collect on its sides.<sup>15</sup>

Our next trip was in another direction from Merida to Chichen Itza where the Carnegie Institute of Washington, under the direction of Dr. Morley, had kept a large force of men working for years uncovering some of the ruins. It is estimated that the city originally had about a quarter of a million residents. The ruins are extended over a very large area.

My son James took good moving pictures of many of the leading ruins and tried to take pictures of the Sacred Well, which were not very satisfactory because of the practical impossibility of showing the well in pictures except if they were made by an expert. The book describing the Sacred Well, by Thompson, is as interesting as most any novel although he undertakes to present the facts as tradition and available writings describe.

The well is probably one hundred or one hundred fifty feet in diameter and about sixty feet to the water, with all but perpendicular walls except in one place where you enter, which is also very steep. According to Thompson, they sacrificed the most beautiful

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<sup>15</sup> Memorandum dated Feb. 1936, Box 15, fd 3.

maidens to their rain god in times of drought and suffering in order to appease the wrath of the god. She was treated for a considerable time with great honor and attention but finally thrown into the well where she perished. They also threw into the well much of the most valuable of their jewelry as a sacrifice. Thompson acquired the property and sold it to the Institute. Because of the belief in the history of the well, he had the well dredged in the hope of acquiring valuable relics but, while he found some, they were not as numerous or valuable as he expected.<sup>16</sup>

The Carnegie Institute has acquired title to a large amount of country, including the remains of the entire city. No one is living in any of these ancient ruins. The natives do not know anything about who built them or what became of the great civilization that antedated their time. The people generally live in thatched huts. The Mayans were the most highly civilized of the ancient inhabitants but those that were left were so abused and misused that, as a rule, they are very poor and live in the most primitive way. Yet they have the appearance of being descendants of a well-civilized people.

While at Mexico City, my son James and I went to Oaxaca, an all-day trip on a very slow railroad through a mountainous, barren country where we passed through something like a forest of cactus. The small train and few passengers were protected by a considerable group of armed soldiers.

We arrived in Oaxaca a few days after an earthquake had demolished some buildings and badly cracked the principal hotel where we were lodged. It also had badly shaken and cracked the cathedral and a church, as well as a number of business houses. The debris from the fallen building still clogged traffic on the street.

We visited Monte Albans (to which a fine road had just been built by the Mexican Government), the ancient ruins on the top of a mountain where there had evidently lived a large population. The ruins had not been excavated but some of them have since, yielding a great quantity of valuable relics, particularly in jewelry.

We also went to Mitla where the excavated ruins disclosed the

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<sup>16</sup> Undated memorandum, Box 8, fd 1.

lower part of a massive ancient temple with splendid, well-cut columns, fine carvings, and paintings. Most interesting of all to me were the floors and courtyards made of fine cement work that, prior to excavation, had been covered with a deep deposit of the accumulated debris of the ages. Some of the cut stones in the building were twelve or fourteen feet long and two or three feet square. Just how they were cut and put in position would be interesting information. Some of the walls still standing are highly ornamented with colored mosaics. The trip to Mitla was by automobile. On the way we stopped at where there was an immense old tree history and tradition say sheltered Cortez and many of his soldiers. It is my recollection that it was either thirty-five feet or thirty-five steps around the trunk of the tree, the foliage of which was very dense.

### **The Joy of Service**

I always enjoyed good health, which continued with me through my mission and enabled me to perform the arduous duties of presiding over a large mission in which I kept up all of its activities as fully as if I had been a much younger man. I introduced into the mission immediately orderly conduct and business methods, providing when missionaries should get up, breakfast, commence their prayers and study class of three-quarters of an hour daily, when to commence and continue daily tracting, and so on. An important innovation in the Eastern States was the introduction in 1929 and for the first time the requirement of keeping track of missionary tracting, and providing every missionary with the appropriate book in which to record the streets and locality tracted, number of times tracted, when, and by whom. That book was called "The Tracting Book," and another the "Prospective Investigators Book." By means of these, for the first time in the mission succeeding missionaries were advised where, when, and by whom work was done before them in a particular area. This continued to be a marked success.<sup>17</sup>

I was really happy during my four and a half years as mission president, and a similar experience I am certain would give anyone much of a new outlook on life. Where one is wholly and solely

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<sup>17</sup> Memorandum dated Feb. 1936, Box 15, fd 3.

absorbed in the work, he gets an inspiration and knowledge out of it that I am certain is not obtained in any other way. There is something in Mormonism that is deeper and more profound than anything else that comes to a man in this life. I was sorry to have discovered this so late, though I had always given the Church some measure of attention.<sup>18</sup>

### Governor Roosevelt

While I was in New York and as my time would allow, I continued to work in my capacity as Democratic National Committeeman. I was extremely happy with the nomination of Governor Franklin D. Roosevelt for the Presidency, notwithstanding some of his views such as the ending of prohibition that were difficult for me. I always saw in him my ideal of a cultured, intelligent gentleman, a clean-looking, clean-living family man, father of an unusually large and fine family, though he is not without some serious faults, but who does not have them? He is a man of fine moral and religious instincts—he said to me when he was governor and when national prohibition was a prominent issue, “Moyle, you and I see that matter alike, but we must treat it in a practical way.” While he smoked and indulged in liquor largely in a social but moderate way, he was essentially a temperance man so far as I know or believe. I never heard of his being intoxicated, though I presume he may have been made very jolly if not hilarious at times. But I will warrant that at all times he conducted himself in a gentlemanly way as that term is generally understood.

Until after he became an active candidate for the Presidency, I did not regard him in any sense as a superman, though I knew he had some of the qualities of one, especially in his social relations and dealings with men. I merely regarded him as otherwise a young man of ordinary standing among the leaders of the nation, who had had unusual and superior advantages in life in the development of his intellectual and social sphere. It was not until he

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<sup>18</sup> James H. Moyle to Ezra C. Rich, 15 Jan. 1931. See additionally for the mission presidency period the following: interview with Evelyn Moyle Nelson by Gene A. Sessions, 20 June 1974, transcript of twelve pages, CLA, p. 9; interview with Sara Moyle Creer, 3 July 1974, transcript of nineteen pages, CLA, pp. 10, 15-19; interview with James D. Moyle by Gene A. Sessions, 11 Aug. 1974, transcript of eighteen pages, CLA, pp. 7-11; Sessions, “View of James Henry Moyle,” pp. 68-89.

unfolded at the beginning of his first campaign for the Presidency his national policies that I recognized that in him was something unusual and outstanding. That was climaxed in my mind when he so aptly illustrated his sympathy for mankind in his first campaign speech when he said he was more interested in the base of the social pyramid than its apex; that the base should be nurtured directly rather than let the benefits of government find its way to them by percolating through the apex and on downward. My later acquaintance led me to sympathize and admire him even more genuinely.<sup>19</sup>

### **Assessing Utah for the Next President**

Early in his campaign (after the nomination), he asked me for information on Utah and the Church and my political assessment of Democracy's chances in the state. Happily, I prepared the following memorandum I submitted to him August 29, 1932:

"The tariff bills enacted under both Cleveland and Wilson administrations placed practically every product of Utah and the far-western states on the 'Free List,' and compelled the West to pay a substantial tariff on most of the products of the East. It is my recollection that the Cleveland Tariff produced a revenue of about a quarter of a billion dollars per year. This more than anything else made the West Republican and Utah in particular.

"I am glad you are going to Utah; you may be interested in knowing that practically all of the original Mormon leaders were Democrats from New England, New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania. Daniel H. Wells, who was converted in Illinois just before the migration to the Rockies, was the only Whig among the Mormons.

"We had no national parties in Utah until early in the 1890s. Up to that time the two parties were pro- and anti-Mormon. The anti-Mormon party leadership consisted chiefly of Republican 'carpetbaggers' and their followers. It was not until in the 1880s that they made much of a showing at the polls. Every delegate to Congress, down to the organization of the national parties in Utah early in the 1890s when national politics became an issue were Mormon Democrats who always sat on the Democratic side and

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<sup>19</sup> Memorandum dated Apr., Oct. 1942, Box 9, fd 5.

voted with the Democrats and were known only as such. No member of the anti-Mormon party had any chance in territorial or county elections until 1890.

"States rights—the right to self-government, for which the people pled and appealed to Congress repeatedly—was always denied until we had a Democratic Congress in 1895. The Republicans previously knew Utah would be Democratic. Even when Nevada and Wyoming were given statehood, each having less population than Salt Lake City, and very little wealth outside of mining and ranching and the Pacific railroads which also passed through Utah.

"Brigham Young, and all of his successors down to Joseph F. Smith, who preceded President Grant, were Democrats. The latter will undoubtedly vote for Senator Smoot, but for a Democratic governor and Congressman, unless our prohibition plank prevents him from so doing. His counselor, Anthony W. Ivins, is a very able and potential factor in the affairs of Utah. He has always been a very fine and loyal Democrat, and by the way is not friendly to Senator Smoot politically and I don't think he has ever voted for him or advocated his election. President Grant and Ivins are first cousins. His (Ivins) people are from New Jersey. Mayor Ivins of New York was a first cousin. I thought you might like to know some of these things, as you are likely to meet him. When you go to Utah, you may have an opportunity of telling him of your pleasure in knowing something of his immovable devotion to Democracy.

"Brigham Young was very practical and encouraged all kinds of home industries including manufacturing. He himself was engaged in it and was a prime leader in it. His slogan was 'Support Home Industry.' Brigham Young advocated the support of home industry so much and so strongly that it was easy for the Republicans to take that as a battle cry and apply it to national manufactures as well as local, and likewise the maintenance of a home market. That coupled with the manifest discrimination of the Cleveland Tariff against practically all of our Utah industries, together with the action of the leaders of the Church in seeking to effect a real division on national party lines, resulted in a strong movement to build up a Republican Party, notwithstanding the fact that the local Republicans had been so generally anti-Mormon. Thus the Republicans became dominant. Nothing but the Mormon leaders and the tariff could have effected that result. In my

opinion we would probably have held Utah notwithstanding the Mormon leadership but for the tariff.

"President Joseph F. Smith was a strong Republican. The activity of the leaders of the Church in the interest of the Republican Party was justified on the ground that many of the people did not really know whether they were Democrats or not on the issues other than the right to self-government. That question was settled in 1895 when statehood was secured. If the Mormon leaders had not stemmed the tide or broken up the movement which was carrying the Mormons generally into the Democratic Party, when division on national party lines occurred, it would have resulted in the old fight over again, under the new name, Mormons as Democracy and non-Mormons as Republicans. That movement was carried on until the overwhelming Democratic majority became a minority, and put Utah in the Vermont class. Ever since the Utah and Vermont episode, Democracy has been on the up-grade in Utah. The people are getting back to their first love.

"What the declaration in favor of the repeal of the Eighteenth Amendment will do is a very serious question, as the leaders of the Mormon Church are practically a unit in favor of prohibition. The orthodox Church leaders generally are with them. Temperance is one of the most conspicuous teachings of the Mormon Church.

"I think I can speak with a longer, and more intimate acquaintance, with the tariff issue in Utah than any other Democrat. I have made more of a study of that subject than any of them and have kept in such close contact with it, that when the Underwood Bill was under consideration I contributed my services gratis and worked intimately for a week or more with Senator Walsh, of Montana, to induce the Democratic Congress to give the West a square deal. That was all we asked. Senator Underwood was fully converted and declared that he was with us but he said the President had yielded on a number of things, but was adamant in his determination to place our products on the free list, as raw materials, no matter how much they were manufactured. That, of course, included sugar, lead, wool, meat, mining, and agriculture products.

"My Democracy was so strong that I have always stayed with my party and worked consistently in its interests, but I did say to Mr. Underwood and others that I never again would support

measures that were calculated to make 'hewers of wood and carriers of water' out of Westerners for the benefit of eastern manufacturers.

"Five years ago when the movement was on to nominate Governor Smith, whom I opposed, I was invited to meet with the gatherings in his interest, particularly in Ogden, Utah. There I proposed what was extended somewhat in a movement to demand a fair tariff on western products, if we were going to have a tariff on eastern products. That was brought to the attention of Governor Smith. His declarations on the subject in favor of justice to all sections of the country, etc., made it much easier, than would otherwise have been the case, to support him. I strongly commend Governor Smith's declaration on that subject to your favorable consideration.

"Though personal, and in justification of what I am saying concerning myself and the appeal I make, and possibly some vanity, I will take the liberty of letting you know that as a student at Ann Arbor I attended every minute of the convention that first nominated Cleveland, and I have attended most of them since, and taken part in all of the campaigns. As State Chairman I conducted two very successful campaigns in Utah in the 1890s, and when the party was languishing in the depths of defeat and despair, I again accepted the chairmanship in 1910, when we did not control a county in the State, and had but two members in the legislature, and none in the senate. That campaign resulted in our carrying a number of counties and we have been on the upgrade ever since. I was the Democratic candidate for governor in 1900 and 1904 and came nearly defeating Senator Smoot for the Senate in 1914. If you get next to President Ivins, who has been a close political observer and very much interested, he is liable to tell you what he has told me, that I actually defeated Senator Smoot in 1914, when he was believed to be invincible.

"I refer to these things because I am ever anxious possibly to impress on you, not only in this campaign but when you become President, the fact that the West is entitled to a square deal on the tariff, which it has never had under a Democratic administration.

"For fear that you might think I have some personal interest to serve, I am pleased to say that I never was a candidate for an appointment either state or federal and do not expect to be. My position in the Treasury Department was not only unsought but

accepted with some reluctance, and not until the President urged it upon me, in an appealing telegram. I do, however, want to assist you now, and to be of service to Utah when you are President."<sup>20</sup>

As I was soon to learn, the new President took my offer in that last sentence literally.<sup>21</sup>

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<sup>20</sup> "Memorandum, prepared by James H. Moyle, at the Request of Gov. Roosevelt, August 29, 1932," Box 1, fd 8.

<sup>21</sup> See below, chap. 9.

## Chapter 9

# NEW DEALER

*[Editor's Note: Shortly after the inauguration of Franklin D. Roosevelt in March 1933, the new president requested that Moyle visit him in the White House. Following a lengthy personal interview, the president asked Moyle to join the administration and sent him to see James A. Farley, Postmaster General and dispenser of patronage. Farley persuaded the seventy-five-year-old Utahn to head the Customs Bureau as Commissioner of Customs. Following consultation with Mormon leaders, Moyle moved from New York to Washington and directly from his mission presidency into renewed government service.]*

Something of which I will always be proud and which is extremely gratifying is President Roosevelt's high regard and respect for me. I say that in humility, but I had several evidences of it. For example, Tariff Commissioner Edgar Brossard of Utah wrote to me in 1938 the following letter that demonstrates the source of my pride and also tells an interesting story about the origins of our wide streets in Salt Lake City:

"I had a forty-five minute visit with President Roosevelt yesterday. He was very warm, friendly, and cordial, and we had a very good visit. He would not let anyone interrupt us. Several times when one of his secretaries or someone started to come through the door he motioned them out and told them to wait a few minutes. We discussed many topics and persons. In the course of our discussion he brought up your name. He said, 'You know, Judge James H. Moyle is another grand Utahn. He is a good personal friend of mine. I like him immensely. He was Assistant Secretary of the Treasury in President Wilson's time when I was

Assistant Secretary of the Navy. I got to know him well. He is a wonderful character.'

"He brought up the question of the Mormon Church. Among many other complimentary things he said about the Church was this: 'You know, the Mormon Church is one of the finest—the finest organizations we have in the United States. It has done a wonderful piece of work for its members.' He then went on to tell me how Salt Lake City came to have such wide streets and told me the same story, I think, that he told you. He said that his fourth cousin, James Roosevelt, then an old man, met him in Georgia one day and told him the story about how two young Mormon converts from Florida were going horseback to join the Mormon pioneers in Illinois to cross the desert with them to Salt Lake. They stopped in Macon. While there the hotel with the stables and everything where they stayed burned up destroying their horses and all their possessions. They had to stay and work to get additional horses and clothes. While they were in Macon the city, after this big fire which had almost entirely destroyed it, was being rebuilt. They decided to build the streets wide enough so that another time the flames could not jump across the street from building to building so they made the streets two hundred feet wide. These two young converts continued on their journey to Nauvoo and thence to Salt Lake with the Brigham Young party. When they were laying out Salt Lake City the plans called for streets like in other New England towns—no wider. These two young men thought they should tell Brigham Young what had happened in Macon, Georgia, and how they profited by it and laid out the new city with streets two hundred feet wide. Brigham Young thought the idea was a good one and changed the plans adopting the wide streets as in Macon, and that is how Salt Lake City came to have unusually wide streets which is the comment of everybody who visits there now that the automobile is in such popular use. The President agreed that it was a good historical fact if true and he said his fourth cousin, James Roosevelt, told it to him as a fact."<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Edgar B. Brossard to James H. Moyle, 9 June 1938, Box 3, fd 5; James Henry Moyle Collection, Library-Archives, Historical Department, Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City, hereinafter cited as CLA. All references hereinafter to box and folder (fd) are for items from this collection.

### Commissioner of Customs

With the President's manifest confidence, I entered upon my duties as Commissioner of Customs with an eye for reform and efficiency. On my first visit to a port, namely Boston, in 1933, I discovered that the clean content of wool was determined by examiners' estimates. I consequently installed in 1934 a wool scouring plant in the appraiser's store in New York at a cost of \$5,568 for scientifically ascertaining the clean content of wool, that being the basis upon which the tariff is collected. It was the first scientific or mechanical method of determining the clean content of wool used by the government of any country. This plant removed substantially the element of uncertainty in contested cases. The plant being novel and in the nature of an experiment to determine the practicability of improving the method of ascertaining the clean content of wool and checking on examiners' estimates, the expense was kept at a minimum. After an extended investigation of the subject by a Mr. Ballinger, the Treasury efficiency expert, I recommended in 1938 an enlargement of the plant to a cost of \$50,000 if necessary in order that all samples might be tested and not merely those contested. Dr. Wollner is now making an exhaustive study of the subject and proposes further developments including a scientific method of securing samples of wool to be tested.

On December 24, 1934, I reported to Assistant Secretary Gibbons the gross lack of supervision in the examination of tobacco and substantial losses sustained by the too frequent classification of wrapper tobacco as filler tobacco which is imported in bales, with the two classes of tobacco indiscriminately intermingled. Filler tobacco then paid a duty of 35 cents a pound, and wrapper tobacco \$2.275. Now, under the treaty with Cuba, the duty is reduced on filler tobacco to 17 1/2 cents and wrapper tobacco, \$1.50 a pound. A survey I had made showed variations of from 1 to 30 percent on returns of wrapper tobacco by different examiners.

I found that there was practically no direct personal supervision of examiners at the different ports. Samples of tobacco were submitted to the supervising examiner at New York City. He is and has been in very poor health. Other important duties chiefly, but also his health, compelled him to remain in New York.

I therefore recommended in December 1934 that Mr. Zeluff be appointed supervising tobacco examiner and that he spend such time as might be necessary, authorized by the Commissioner, in visiting various tobacco ports, instructing examiners, seeing that the regulations were followed and the revenue protected, and that the remainder of his time be devoted to his regular duties at Tampa, Florida. Zeluff was of the opinion that he should carry on his duties previously performed, and at the same time make such visits of inspection as would be necessary. That recommendation has not been approved so far, but should be.

The lack of close supervision of field officers was early impressed upon me in another way when the port and bureau officers recommended, and the district attorney at San Francisco informally approved, the acceptance of \$47,000 in settlement of the Government's claim in connection with excessive refunds paid on tomatoes alleged to have been spoiled and abandoned. Not being satisfied, I made a personal investigation of the matter at San Francisco and with the cooperation of the district attorney and local customs officers we succeeded in having the offer increased to \$108,634. As a result of my investigation a deputy collector in charge, who was an old and honored officer and who had been a candidate for the assistant collectorship, was demoted to inspector, one inspector was demoted to laborer, and two inspectors were suspended. This disciplinary action placed the inspection force at San Francisco on a much higher plane. That action resulted in reducing the amount of such refunds of tariff paid on spoiled tomatoes imported at San Francisco from around 50 percent of the duty paid to less than 1 percent, which exposed the enormity of the fraud that had been previously carried on.

When the Baylor cattle case from Eagle Pass in the El Paso, Texas, District arose in the Bureau, April 26, 1934, I discovered that we did not have cattle scales there and at a number of other cattle ports. Then I also discovered that the importer's invoices were very generally accepted and no business-like effort was made to determine the exact weights. The Baylor importation was ordered weighed at an interior port, disclosing that the loss of duty on the one shipment was more than sufficient to pay for two adequate scales where only one was needed. I had scales promptly installed at a number of ports, and that policy was followed where needed ever since.

On December 28, 1934, I called the Department's attention to the fact that there was no centralized and active supervision of appraising activities generally and recommended the separation of appraiser. This recommendation was approved in June, 1937, two-and-one-half years later, and the present organization is considered an outstanding accomplishment.

Appreciating the fact that closer supervision of the field force was needed, I formally recommended on January 25, 1935, that four customs agents-at-large be appointed to serve under the immediate direction of the Commissioner to operate as his "eyes and ears" in the field with a view of increasing efficiency, economy, and administrative effectiveness, their work to be supplemental to the port examiner's work. This recommendation was orally renewed repeatedly but was not approved until June 1939, more than four years later, when the Secretary directed that nine liaison officers be appointed including the port examiners to operate, as I had recommended, as the eyes and ears of the Commissioner in the field. The reason it took four years for my suggestion to go through was due to the fear that it would cost more than the reform was worth.

For a year and a half I persisted in urging establishment of a customs correspondence school for the purpose of educating and training customs officers for their duties. The establishment of the school was finally approved in 1935 and is now an outstanding success commended by all.

During a trip to Europe in the spring of 1936, I found that our foreign offices were operated independently of each other with no official contact between them or supervision over them except from Washington. On July 1, 1936, I recommended that Treasury Attache Wait at Paris be assigned the duty to inspect or visit and advise with the chiefs of the other offices as to their problems and methods of doing business once a year or whenever he deemed it advisable. Immediately following my report on the subject, the Secretary enlarged upon the plan suggested, appointed Treasury Attache Wait in charge of the European offices, designating him supervising Treasury Attache and giving him supervisory powers over all the offices. That is what I wanted and recommended orally. All of the offices in Europe were opposed to the idea, so I made

my recommendation to the Secretary personally to insure something being done without too much bureaucratic complaining.

In the same report I pointed out that our foreign representatives had been directed to report to and act in narcotics matters only under the direction of the Narcotics Bureau, with the result that there was a great lack of initiative and activity on the part of our foreign customs representatives in that connection. I saw that if greater responsibility and freedom of action were placed on our customs officers it would result in their greater activity in narcotics cases and a more efficient prosecution of those engaged in the illicit traffic. I merely submitted the facts, however, stating that I did not feel free to make any recommendation on the subject as it was a problem involving two bureaus of the Treasury Department and another department of the Government. Soon after the submission of this report the narcotics work in Europe was transferred from the Narcotics Bureau to the Customs Bureau.

In the course of my visits to the customs ports I discovered that there was no orderly policy for providing understudies to important positions in the service and that promotions were made on seniority where men were fairly well qualified. This not infrequently resulted, as I first discovered at New Orleans, in important positions being filled by employees approaching retirement age. On November 9, 1935, I issued a circular letter directing all field officers to select and forward to the Bureau for consideration the names of understudies for key positions for any vacancies that might arise due to retirement or dismissals.

My observation of the independence of each European office and complete lack of supervision was a continuation of the observations I made and expressed when I visited the border ports from Lake Superior to Idaho in the summer of 1935 and learned that there was no connecting link between the customs districts or supervision over them except from Washington and such occasional visits as were made by customs agents without any recognized effort at coordinating the work, particularly with respect to preventing the smuggling of narcotics from the Orient through Pacific Coast ports. At the close of this inspection trip at Great Falls, Montana, I met Agent Bailey who had recently completed a survey of the port of San Francisco with a view of reorganizing the outside force to insure a more effective enforcement of the smuggling laws. At that interview we agreed that greater efficiency

would result if there were a coordination of activities of all the Pacific Coast ports. Upon my return to Washington, I discussed this matter with other Bureau officers and on October 9, 1935, I authorized Agent Bailey to make a survey of the Pacific Coast ports and to submit recommendations which would in his opinion result in a more effective policy of unified enforcement along the Pacific Coast. This survey was completed on January 26, 1936, and a report submitted thereon dated March 3, 1936.

During July 1936, Agent Bailey was directed to take charge of the activities on the Pacific Coast in the capacity of chief intelligence officer and advisor to the various collectors of customs. Subsequently, a plan of coordination to prevent narcotics smuggling was also set up on the Atlantic and Gulf Coasts. This coordination work has greatly minimized smuggling.

In my report in February 1937, I called attention to an anomalous condition existing in the Customs Bureau. I estimated that more than 75 percent of the work of the legal unit performed under the direction of the general counsel of the Department was in fact administrative. Ballinger's committee found later on a more complete investigation that it was about 85 percent. On March 16, 1939, two years later, the chief counsel and about 85 percent of the attorneys were transferred from the Office of the General Counsel of the Department to the Customs Bureau, and the Division of Tariff Administration was established with the chief counsel in charge as a deputy commissioner of customs.

During my trip on the northern border in the summer of 1935 I discovered the desirability of pistol matches to better qualify our men for enforcement work. I returned to Washington enthusiastically advocating in the Bureau the need for these matches and was advised that there was no money that could be used for that purpose. Later Secretary Morgenthau learned of the situation (from whom I do not know) and became much interested and found the money for this purpose, much to the credit of his administration.

I persistently urged that the \$100 exemption accorded travelers returning from Canada be restricted to those who had remained in Canada at least 48 hours. This restriction was written into the Customs Administrative Act of 1938.

In April and July, 1936, I recommended that Treasury attaches

be given diplomatic status to assist them in the prosecution of their work. I took this matter up with the American Ambassadors at Paris, London, Berlin, and Vienna, and enlisted their aid. Thereafter, additional privileges were accorded our foreign representatives.

I made, as had never been done before by any Bureau officer, a personal inspection of all border ports and stations resulting in obtaining a more intimate acquaintance with the officers in remote places and making needed changes and effecting economies, including abolishing a number of unnecessary stations on the border, and other activities which have benefited the bureau, notably the establishment of greater uniformity of action in imposing penalties and greater attention being given generally to cases involving failure of travelers to report when crossing the border. I discovered that heavy or very slight penalties were imposed in one district, while the opposite occurred in other districts for identically the same offense. I consequently enlisted the aid of the Canadian Commissioner of Customs in the latter regard with the result that Canadian officers have been directed to advise travelers that it is necessary to report on the American side. I authorized installation of more appropriate signs and notices of requirement to report and the most effective of all the placing of red lights over the roads at the active stations. The chief excuse of travelers for not reporting was that they did not know it was necessary to report, or did not see the customs station.

In the interest of closer supervision of motorboats, some of which had been used extensively in smuggling liquor during prohibition, I recommended more rigid enforcement of the law requiring stricter registration of new and old motorboats upon transfer of ownership, and that a fee be charged of one dollar and up according to capacity and value, much the same as automobiles are licensed, thereby creating a source of revenue and at the same time insuring closer supervision over such boats. This work involved some 300,000 boats. This matter was referred to the Department of Commerce which has jurisdiction over such matters.

One of my broadest policies in the Bureau was strict economy. For example, I decreased the Commissioner's office personnel from six to two and a part-time officer. My predecessor had a secretary and three stenographer clerks, an executive as-

sistant, and a chief clerk—six. My force consisted of the same secretary and one stenographer clerk with only occasional assistance from another stenographer, and a Mr. Benner who acted at the same time as deputy commissioner in charge of administrative matters. In addition to the foregoing, I abolished the office of stenographer for the Bureau (salary \$2300) and reduced the personnel of the Division of Mails and Files from thirty-six to twenty-three and at the same time increased the efficiency of that service.<sup>2</sup>

### **Moving Upstairs**

In 1939, it was easy to see that the war was about to involve the United States and international shipping problems were then some of the most delicate and troublesome confronting the Department, and were giving the President concern. No ship could enter or depart from the country without reporting to and obtaining the approval of the Customs Bureau. It was therefore pivotal in the government service involved. An expert on ships and shipping of a high order was needed, and to obtain such, the vice president of the United States Shipping Company, a \$25,000-a-year man, was induced to accept the place as a patriotic duty at \$10,000 a year, and that was a high salary in the government. He was not only placed at the head of the Customs Bureau but made a special assistant to the Secretary of the Treasury with an office near the Secretary as well as in the Bureau. At the same time he became an advisor of the President. And I was made an assistant to the Secretary.

How far my age (nearly eighty-two) figured in this change, I do not know, but I know that it would have been very serious for any mistakes to occur in the Bureau both for the nation and for the Secretary, as he was a very nervous man. But since I was never an efficiency expert and because I was a man of my age, it is significant that they subsequently gave me the assignment of studying and reporting improvements that might be made in the savings bond business, because it had grown so rapidly. It then had a billion-dollar-a-year business and was on the way to becoming (as it since has) a monstrous affair, especially if the

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<sup>2</sup> Undated memorandum, Box 8, fd 1.

United States entered the war. And President Roosevelt was preparing for that eventuality as fast as Congress would permit.

I believe I was selected for that work because of my efforts during the Wilson administration and in my service as Commissioner of Customs to reduce waste and to upgrade efficiency. I think the Secretary was particularly mindful of my recommendations to abolish the national bank notes and to reduce the size of paper money, and so on. I may be overly appreciative of my good judgment, but I think Roosevelt and Morgenthau believed I could come up with some good ideas for improving the bond effort, and I believe I did.<sup>3</sup>

#### From the Ranks of the Obscure

It is remarkable that Roosevelt selected a number of his chief aides from the ranks of the unknown and obscure, the most notable of which were Morgenthau and our own Marriner Eccles of Utah. Prior to his being called to Washington by the President, Secretary Morgenthau had held no office or place in public life except New York state forester when Roosevelt was governor, and precinct chairman in the Democratic Party of Dutchess County. He was a graduate of Cornell, and in business a dairy farmer, though his father was one of the wealthy real estate owners of New York City and a former ambassador to Turkey. I had never heard of him before his coming to Washington in the 1930s except that he had a fine herd of Holsteins, which I had learned from the *Holstein Journal*. In a conversation with Senator Carter Glass, the dean and seer of the Senate under whom I had served in the Treasury, I learned that Glass was shocked at the appointment of Morgenthau as Secretary and that Morgenthau's own father was quite as much shocked. Apparently, his aged father had never entrusted him with his own business. (The Senator did not contemplate that this comment would be published, though he placed no restrictions on it.) Morgenthau did not have a popular appeal. I doubt that he could have gotten anywhere at the political polls. He was of a nervous, suspicious nature, and did not get along well with his subordinates, of which he had many, until he selected a civil service man, a department

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<sup>3</sup> Memorandum dated Nov. 1945, Box 13, fd 3.

career man. The Secretary was a very poor speaker and did not appear to be bold, but he did act affirmatively in staff matters.<sup>4</sup>

Morgenthau was chosen, I think, because he was Roosevelt's friend and neighbor in Dutchess County, though their farms are well apart, and evidently because Roosevelt saw more in him than others did, even his own father. I think he is an only son. Anyway, it was said in Washington that the President was his own Secretary of the Treasury and Labor, but in spite of it all, Morgenthau seems to have weathered the blasts and made an acceptable Secretary of the Treasury. Eccles, though previously unknown outside of northern Utah and southern Idaho, and among the bankers of the state, and never a Democrat so far as I know or any members of his family (and I knew his father well), has made his way and is a great credit to his state. He is strictly business and attends to his own knitting, and has had very little to do with the people of Utah.

These two men, Eccles and Morgenthau, illustrate something of the originality and courage of our great President. Morgenthau was appointed chiefly because of friendship and Roosevelt's trust in his loyalty and the President's uncanny understanding of men. Eccles was an apparent stranger, exhibiting in an obscure way progressive ideals that chanced to come to the President, probably through another obscurity, Secretary of War George H. Dern, also from Utah, the state never before recognized with a cabinet position. The two of them were from a state with little more than a half million population.

The President knew Dern as a fellow governor and as a distinct progressive. That was a real touchstone with Roosevelt. He was certainly hip on progressives, especially if they showed originality, but Dern was, like his father, a very substantial man. There was nothing in his administration as governor or Secretary of War that indicated reform or originality. He just went along satisfactorily without making mistakes. He was conservative rather than

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<sup>4</sup> Memorandum dated Nov. 1945, Box 13, fd 2. See Dean L. May, "From New Deal to New Economics: The Response of Henry Morgenthau, Jr., and Marriner S. Eccles to the Recession of 1937," Ph.D. diss., Brown University, 1974, pp. 27-109; John Morton Blum, *From the Morgenthau Diaries*, 3 vols. to date (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1959-67); Marriner S. Eccles, *Beckoning Frontiers: Public and Personal Recollections*, ed. by Sidney Hyman (New York: Alfred Knopf, 1951).

radical, but his ideas and reading were in full sympathy with the progressives and the President.<sup>5</sup>

**Cordell Hull and Daniel C. Roper**

I enjoyed the opportunity of associating with other prominent New Deal figures. For example, in my relations and work with Cordell Hull, the Secretary of State, I was very impressed with his comparatively quiet, modest, and unostentatious but firm and emphatic decisions. He was a clean character and a straight, forthright thinker, and his public life endeared him to those who knew him. He is now (October 1944) in Moscow on probably the most important mission of his life. Upon its results much depends, but he always has been safe and extremely capable and in my opinion always will be. His long career as Congressman, Chairman of the Democratic Party, Senator, and for nearly eleven years Secretary of State justified all the best that can be said of him, notwithstanding there is nothing in his career that is brilliant or showy. His consistency, persistence, and continuous usefulness are (like labor) his great genius.<sup>6</sup>

I can think of no greater tribute to him than the fact that I could say to President David O. McKay, when he wanted me to talk to President Roosevelt about saving Clearfield from the loss of about a thousand acres of its best parts, that I could not take up such a detail with the President without some embarrassment in view of the decisions reached, but I could freely discuss it with Secretary Hull. And if my request was not inconsistent or unwise I could rely on his doing what he could to aid us. If he felt it would be fair to the President and justifiable, I would be able to talk to the President. I am sure any friend, however humble, would feel the same. Notwithstanding the obstacles to going directly to important officials in Washington, I would, while rec-

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<sup>5</sup> Memorandum dated Nov. 1945, Box 13, fd 2.

<sup>6</sup> Memorandum dated Oct. 1944, Box 1, fd 2. It is possible that Moyle misdated this memorandum, because though Hull was in Moscow in October 1944, the work there ("the Second Moscow Conference") pertained exclusively to Great Britain and the Soviet Union. Much more significant to Hull's role in the summitry of World War II was the Moscow Conference of Foreign Ministers held in October 1943. From this meeting emerged the Moscow Declaration, an important precursor to the establishment of the United Nations.

ognizing my retirement and obscurity, not hesitate to walk in on and surprise the Secretary with a subject of comparative unimportance. I believe such to be his tolerant, genial, and simple life, and his characteristics; there is nothing pompous or aristocratic about him.<sup>7</sup>

Daniel C. Roper, a South Carolina lawyer, was Commissioner of Internal Revenue and Secretary of Commerce under Roosevelt. He did not reach the peak Hull did but was the same type of person. I was more intimate with him because his time and positions in office were more nearly the same as mine. He spent pretty much all of his life in Washington, and was a man of fine spiritual as well as intellectual character. Roper was also McAdoo's political manager, which brought me into closer relationship with him. He was a bright light in the firmament of Washington.

Both Hull and Roper were two men in Washington to whom I freely went with my political problems and never failed to receive a warm welcome. Mrs. Moyle was on the intimate social list of Mrs. Hull and Mrs. Roper. Roper was more socially inclined than Hull, though the latter went along with his wife. Hull was more at home at work and shined when so engaged. I knew quite well many other New Dealers, but Hull and Roper were my most intimate associates in the administration.<sup>8</sup>

### **The Church Security Program**

While I served under Roosevelt, my relationship with the Church entered some new conflicts and at the same time some new meanings. I was in London on customs business when the Church announced the Church Security Program (now Church Welfare Plan). When I arrived at the United States Customs office the next morning, someone handed me a bulletin that was sent to all British offices concerning the announcement of the day before of what the Mormons were going to do in social service and welfare. On my return to Washington, I was delighted beyond measure to see the Church plan reported in the newsreel in a

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<sup>7</sup> Memorandum dated Oct. 1944, Box 1, fd 2. See Leonard J. Arrington and Archer L. Durham, "Anchors Aweigh in Utah: The U.S. Naval Supply Depot at Clearfield, 1942-1962," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 31 (1963): 109-26.

<sup>8</sup> Memorandum dated Oct. 1944, Box 1, fd 2.

leading movie house. No other church, however rich, could dare to undertake the task of providing for the necessities of life for all of its needy members, especially in this nation where the high standard of living requires such a quality and quantity of materials. More impressive still is the fact that welfare is not all that Mormonism attempted during that period of great human danger. It used all of the moral suasion it had at its command to induce its members to abandon the generosity of government in favor of its provision for the needy. The pressure was so great that it tried the faith of many who disagreed with the Church's strict ideas about personal and economic responsibility. The Church will provide only what is needed and damns idleness and lack of thrift, and denounces anything that encourages dependence where independence can be maintained.<sup>9</sup>

There can be no doubt about the correctness of the Church position. The only question is its practicability and justice to the taxpayer, who pays the government for making the liberal contribution to charity and who also pays one-tenth of his income to the Church for the same and other objectives. The Church, with its more perfect inexpensive organization, can do what the government cannot—discriminate among the needy according to need. It also urges the preservation of the highest order of manhood, that its members who are able should take care of their own and thereby dignify the independence of manhood. Let him who will not work not eat the bread of the laborer.<sup>10</sup>

If the Church continues its efforts, and its officers claim it is making real progress, it will be a phenomenon that will startle the world more than its original announcement did, and the movies will report it as one of the great achievements of the time. Indeed it would be one, but it now seems destined to failure. It runs so counter to man's self interest, but selfishness is what Christianity

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<sup>9</sup> Memorandum dated Sept. 1945, Box 13, fd 1. See Leonard J. Arrington and Wayne K. Hinton, "Origin of the Welfare Plan of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints," *Brigham Young University Studies* 5 (Winter 1964): 67-85; Garth L. Mangum and Bruce D. Blumell, *The Mormons' War on Poverty* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1993), pp. 130-47.

<sup>10</sup> Memorandum dated Sept. 1945, Box 13, fd 1. As Moyle wrote this passage, his oldest son, Henry D. Moyle, was serving as chair of the Church Welfare Committee.

teaches man to overcome. I hope the Church will succeed. I find no trouble in contributing, as is the case with so many of the active members. I regard paying taxes (much as it hurts) as vital to a real Christian as paying tithing, which is, nevertheless, older than the modern system of taxation. All organized societies have had to have contributions of some kind. It is, however, a little less than marvelous how the Church gets so much real work done beyond the contribution of money and goods. Men who work all day for their living spend several hours at night continuing to work in all kinds of physical and mental energy to aid the needy and keep up the welfare projects and welfare centers the new system has established. All that work is freely given. It looks doubtful to me that that can be continued except under the pressure of real exciting need. Ordinary need will not be enough unless the spiritual overcomes the physical. That is possible, but more improbable, for natural law would seem to deny its continued success.<sup>11</sup>

#### **A Bold Challenge**

There is something about that bold challenge of this Church with only a million or less members (and poor people generally at that) demanding that Mormons all get off the government rolls and get on to the Church aid rolls. It appears, if I understand the situation correctly, to be real coercion. I believe that bold challenge is a cause of amazement. I would rather (if viewing the matter practically) use the money to build up enterprises that would furnish work for those aided by the government, make their places of worship and entertainment more attractive, increase the social environment, and at the same time build up industry and the advancement of knowledge and intelligence. That would build up better and higher ideals and would be far better than the government policy of putting men on the charity dole merely because they were sixty-five years old, or because they were unemployed. That is the commendable aim of the Church and I admire it. But it is only a part of my amazement. While the Church thus puts itself in competition with the government in doing that which is the aim of both, through its *Deseret News* it champions the cause of return-

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<sup>11</sup> Memorandum dated Sept. 1945, Box 13, fd 1.

ing to the good old doctrines of Harding's "return to normalcy" in its hatred for the enlightened policies of the New Deal.<sup>12</sup>

I am deeply interested in the rivalry between the leadership of the Church and its welfare system and the present system of social welfare of the state and nation. The former seeks to preserve the independence and self-respect of the individual, to preserve his desire to work, to be thrifty and industrious and contribute his might to production and enterprise and the up-building of a desirable social and economic society. The reforms of the New Deal of the early 1930s, however good or bad, certainly preceded and stimulated the most commendable and world-stirring welfare work of the Church in harmony with its ideals from its origin. It looks very much like a new David with his sling trying to outdo the giant Goliath and set an example for the greatest nation on earth in its Herculean effort to solve the problem of unemployment and social justice. My regret is that the movement was not started before 1933 rather than after 1935, and that the leadership of the Church has exhibited such an intolerant opposition to the leadership of Roosevelt as the President of our great nation, and his effort (however imperfect) to promote social welfare and economic justice, in opposition to the domination of wealth in our great and progressive nation. President Franklin D. Roosevelt has turned his back on the dominating class of wealth into which he was born and therefore has its unbounded opposition and violent hatred. And he has with a whole heart turned his face toward the uplifting of the common man like his great predecessors, Thomas Jefferson and Abraham Lincoln.

#### **A Vital Part of Mormonism**

All my life I have been a believer in Jesus Christ, the Savior of all, and his great modern prophet, Joseph Smith, and have tried successfully to believe in the social system Christ instituted that was evidently aimed at having no rich or poor. It was not so difficult to establish that system because of the belief that the all-wise, martyred King was soon to return and firmly establish His Kingdom over all. It lasted for a while in some form, but

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<sup>12</sup> Memorandum dated Nov. 1944, Box 1, fd 3.

gradually disappeared as it became more apparent that the return of the Savior and King was not to be in the time of those living. The same ideal, generally called the United Order of God, was again revealed to the great American prophet of God, Joseph Smith, over a hundred years ago and an attempt made to reestablish it. Like its predecessor it soon yielded to the presence of human, selfish weakness before the Prophet's martyrdom. The law of tithing, like the law of carnal commandments of lesser law of Israel, was accepted in the place of the Gospel in its fullness.

As a young man in the 1870s I witnessed the effort of Brigham Young to establish the United Order. It was a real effort on the part of a very few. President Young, though he encouraged it, did not join it himself. What the inducement was I do not know, but it kept alive the belief in it and the determination to live it someday. Brigham Young's clear vision apparently was that the jury existed and the trial was worthwhile. This was during his last years and poor health. Had he been in good health and lived longer the movement would doubtless have gone farther. It was for a few years a real success, and set a real example of what could be done, for there was in those days a living, vital faith that needed a Brigham Young to guide it.

But it survived his day in spirit and its importance was impressed upon me shortly after I left the Eastern States Mission in 1933, and was living in Washington. The new and beautiful chapel there was the pride of its occupants. It attracted the favorable attention of many people of importance, among them Vice President Henry A. Wallace who was then Secretary of Agriculture. He happened to attend a Sunday meeting there and the speaker was Judge Gustave Iverson. Branch President Edgar Brossard, a prominent member of the Tariff Commission, asked me to entertain the Vice President at the meeting. He was accompanied by his aide, a friendly Utahn, who had accompanied the Secretary on a social research visit to Utah in which Wallace, according to the aide, exhibited much interest in the social history of Mormonism, and particularly its United Order in Utah. He visited Southern Utah, taking in Orderville where the United Order was set up on the grassroots of the sagebrush. The Secretary's attendant informed me that his chief was greatly interested and valued the trip and was greatly impressed with the experiment. Here was the Vice Presi-

dent, the foremost social reformer of this country, deeply impressed with the social order and conceptions of the Mormons. The United Order in Utah, like that of Missouri and Ohio, did not live long, but it is just the same a vital part of Mormonism and will some day flourish as such. That is as certain as the divinity of the golden rule.<sup>13</sup>

### A Politico-Religious Puzzle

What puzzles me is why the members of the First Presidency of the Church are so violently and uncompromisingly opposed to the New Deal reforms which have so much of the golden rule in them. I am surprised in view of my intimacy with President Grant that I have never asked him to explain that opposition, and just how, when, and why the Church's present social welfare program was instituted following and not preceding that of the government, and why the violent opposition to Roosevelt, and I say "violent" advisedly. I can understand why there is opposition, but why so violent? Personally, I believe that President Clark is largely responsible for the violent phase of the question, because of his unreasonable opposition to the Democratic Party and its policies. But did not the New Deal reforms inspire the institution of the Church Welfare System? If so, did that inspiration have anything to do with the hatred for the New Deal?<sup>14</sup>

In my opinion President Grant was a conservative Democrat up to the time of the death of his counselor and greatly-loved cousin, Anthony W. Ivins, in 1934. At least he thought he was and consistently called himself a Democrat. It is true that he admitted having voted only for Republican Presidents except once for Woodrow Wilson. That was when he kept us out of the war temporarily. I do not know whether he might have voted for Roosevelt in 1932, but I presume he voted for Hoover the second

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<sup>13</sup> Memorandum dated July 1944, Box 10, fd 7. Wallace's impressions of Mormonism apparently went beyond the casual observation of the United Order in Utah. For example, he once said that "of all the American books of the 19th Century, it seems probable that the Book of Mormon was the most powerful. It reached perhaps only one percent of the United States, but it affected that one percent so powerfully and lastingly, that all the people of the United States have been affected." *New York Times*, 5 Nov. 1937.

<sup>14</sup> Memorandum dated July 1944, Box 10, fd 7.

time. He had done so for his predecessors, Coolidge and Harding, and I never heard of him or the *Deseret News* which he controlled ever having had anything to say against even the foul, odoriferous Harding administration. In fact, up to 1934, the uniform and general policy of the Presidency of the Church and the *Deseret News* seemed to be to support the administration in office rather than oppose it whether Democratic or Republican. But in 1936, when Roosevelt ran the second time, President Grant and his counselors published sensationally a front-page editorial or boxed statement declaring the President communistic and therefore advised its readers to support Landon, the farmer from Kansas. I do not know whether he was a farmer or not but I know he was not known for his statesmanship.<sup>15</sup>

President Grant was naturally democratic in everything except where financial interests were involved. No man could have been more democratic than he is in everything else. The latch string was literally on the outside of his door; I thought too much so to avoid interruptions and waste of time that should not occur. That was changed when President Clark came upon the scene and the public was fenced out. But when President Grant came to my office in Washington, he did not have his secretary arrange for an appointment. Instead he came alone and waited to see me when I was at liberty to do so. His informality in his home was clearly exhibited when away from it. No public man was more open and frank, and democratic in his private as well as public activities, but the Democratic Party was advocating a tariff for revenue only and he was for protection and for giving big industry the green light. As that was a controlling factor in his political belief, he was very largely a Republican rather than a Democrat during all his later life and more mature years.

The change in the Church position was startlingly apparent after the death of President Ivins. President Grant and the *News* almost immediately ceased to have anything good to say about the League of Nations, which both had previously supported heartily. Indeed, President Grant had presided at a League of Nations rally

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<sup>15</sup> Memorandum dated Oct. 1945, Box 13, fd 1. See Frank H. Jonas, "Utah: The Different State," in Frank H. Jonas, ed., *Politics in the American West* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1969), p. 332.

in the Tabernacle; his heart was with the League. But in 1934, the policy changed and the statements of the Presidency and the *Deseret News* became nationalistic and against almost everything President Roosevelt advocated. Almost all of the occupants of the offices of the Church at 47 East South Temple Street who were sympathetic to FDR kept quiet and those who were opposed became very vocal. The intensity of that opposition was not exceeded anywhere, not even on Wall Street which had a bit put in its mouth that ended the nefarious activities of its stock exchange that had opened the door to enrich the few and filch from the many. The only visible reason for this sudden change in Church position I ever heard is the influence of the man selected to take the place of Anthony W. Ivins as First Counselor, J. Reuben Clark, Jr., an unreconstructed follower of Cabot Lodge in his isolationist fight against the League and the splendid reforms of that great political seer, Woodrow Wilson.<sup>16</sup>

#### J. Reuben Clark, Jr.

President Clark came to his church leadership with a fine record as a Latter-day Saint, international lawyer, and Ambassador to Mexico. He had attained worthwhile distinctions that had come to no other member of the Church. He was mentally equipped to be the first man in the Church after its President and he certainly became such in its fullness as the aged President declined in activity. He was not lacking in spirituality and religious devotion; I greatly admired his family. They clearly indicated a growth and spirituality in a religious atmosphere that justified reliance on him as a real Latter-day Saint.<sup>17</sup>

I believe that Clark honestly and sincerely believes that Woodrow Wilson was, like FDR, an evil genius in our government,

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<sup>16</sup> Memorandum dated Oct. 1945, Box 13, fd 1. Clark served as counsel to Senator Philander P. Knox, one of the "irreconcilable" who stubbornly opposed the ratification of the Treaty of Versailles with its provision for the League of Nations. See James B. Allen, "J. Reuben Clark, Jr., on American Sovereignty and Internal Organization," *Brigham Young University Studies* 13 (Spring 1973): 17-42; Frank W. Fox, Jr., *Reuben Clark: The Public Years* (Provo, UT: Brigham Young University Press, 1980), pp. 251-98.

<sup>17</sup> Memorandum dated Oct. 1945, Box 13, fd 1. See Gene A. Sessions, *Prophesying Upon the Bones: J. Reuben Clark and the Foreign Debt Crisis, 1933-39* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1992), pp. 42-50.

undermining its very foundations, the first in destroying the sovereignty of the God-instituted government, and the latter in undermining the cornerstones of that nation's social and economic freedoms and putting in vital danger the Constitution, the most sacred thing in our national life. In this way he justifies the lack of any charity or tolerance for the President of the United States, whose glory now seems fixed and certain to place him in the ranks of Jefferson, Jackson, Lincoln, and Wilson, the greatest of our Presidents since Washington. What the future will unfold is not for me to determine, but it is clear to me now that President Clark, notwithstanding his equipment and real greatness, does not have the fullness of the hearts of his people whom he wants to serve. I may be and probably am wrong in my conclusions, but time will tell.<sup>18</sup>

The nearly seditious editorial policy of the *Deseret News*, which Clark reputedly controls, has brought that long-revered paper into general disrepute and probably financial loss. I know a number of good Saints have cancelled their subscriptions, something I have not done nor encouraged. Its religious news is worth its cost, and it should be in every Mormon home for that reason alone, but the *Tribune* is so outclassing the *News* that many say they get all they need from it and do not care to support the perturbing editorial policy of the *News* by subscribing to it.<sup>19</sup>

I believe and trust with an immovable faith that the Lord is at the helm of the Church and that all will be well. If the policies credited to President Clark of which I have so disapproved eventually show the marks of divine guidance then I hope my readers will see in it the divinity I lacked and President Clark enjoyed, and if I am right that they will see in it all a passing episode of man's fallibility soon to be forgotten. Some very good people have left the Church because they saw in some respect error on the part of Church leadership, and it may have been in error. But what man does not err? Is it not natural and universal in all men? Look at

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<sup>18</sup> Memorandum dated Oct. 1945, Box 13, fd 1. See Martin B. Hickman, "J. Reuben Clark, Jr.: The Constitution and the Great Fundamentals," *Brigham Young University Studies* 13 (Spring 1973): 25-42.

<sup>19</sup> Memorandum dated Oct. 1945, Box 13, fd 1. Jonas, "The Different State," p. 332, reports "thousands of subscriptions" lost because of this editorial policy.

the terrible errors of the great kings, Solomon and David. Who has done worse than Peter who denied Christ in His hour of great trial? Did that destroy the redeeming truth or its agents or agencies? Truth is truth wherever found, and the only course is to adhere to it when it is found. Man's human weaknesses cannot chance the truth or justify its abandonment. The truth will triumph, despite man's mistakes.<sup>20</sup>

### **President Grant, Democrat or Republican?**

Even without the influence of Reuben Clark, President Grant has in recent years become more of a Republican than a Democrat. He had repeated the statement to me and others that I have tried to read him out of the Democratic Party. My reply is that I would rather have him an out-and-out Republican fighting us from the front than a Democrat fighting from the rear. But in all, the President has given the Church a notable and successful administration and has always been on the best of terms with me, because he knew my heart was in the right place on Church affairs, though I did get off politically in his opinion. He never called me to account for it or questioned my sincerity and right to follow my convictions. Unfortunately, however, there have been few Democrats among the top leaders of the Church who have been willing to raise their voices in protest against the flagrant intrusions of Republican politics in Church circles. Moses Thatcher, Anthony W. Ivins, B. H. Roberts, and J. Golden Kimball are exceptions, but each was neutralized by some other factor. Thatcher was extreme and was dropped from power; Ivins was emphatic but conservative; Roberts was eloquent and forceful but backed down under great pressure; Kimball's objections were veiled in wit and came forth infrequently. And there was understandably no Republican among the Brethren who openly expressed any objection to the intrusion of politics in religion so far as I know, and I observed the situation carefully.

Equally disturbing to me was the feeling that the Democrats among the leaders of the Church were being used to express

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<sup>20</sup> Memorandum dated Oct. 1945, Box 13, fd 1. See D. Michael Quinn, *J. Reuben Clark: The Church Years* (Provo, UT: Brigham Young University Press, 1983), pp. 70-94.

disapproval of Democratic policy. Evidence of this that comes notably to mind was the case when great excitement prevailed against President Roosevelt's effort to "reform the Supreme Court." The leaders treated it as if it was something entirely new and unbecoming and without any justification, while it in fact had many precedents and there was abundant need for it. In the spring of 1937 Apostle Joseph F. Merrill delivered a radio address bitterly opposed to the President's move and expressing the views only of the opposition. The Brethren seemed to think generally with him that there was only one side to that question. It well illustrates how a lack of knowledge in the face of popular clamor unduly influences good and otherwise well-informed and well-intending persons who conclude that there is only one side to a question. That was well illustrated in that address by a one-time enthusiastic Democrat and splendid man. That led me to write a long letter to Elder Merrill in which I expressed my shock at his attitude and that of the Church leadership.<sup>21</sup>

When President Grant suffered his paralytic strokes and had to curtail his previous activity very largely, President Clark seemed to take over the leadership of the Church in practical affairs, public and political relations, while President McKay became conspicuous in the spiritual affairs of the Church for which he was admirably fitted, just as President Clark was fitted by experience, taste, and natural instinct for politics and public affairs. Clark often refers to his try for the Senate in 1928 and says that if the people who said they were for him really were he would have had a walkaway. I mention this only to show how politically minded the gentleman is. Indeed, he is regarded as the arch-Republican leader in Utah, operating largely but not entirely in the background. It is claimed for him by intimate friends that he is no more partisan in his views than President McKay, but the latter keeps it all in the background and has not become outwardly offensive to Democrats.

President Clark is credited with the actual dominating leadership of the party with his old law partner Albert E. Bowen, the apostle, and Orval Adams, the banker, and in directing the policy of the *Deseret News* in its persistent sniping and open fight against

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<sup>21</sup> Memorandum dated Nov. 1944, Box 1, fd 3.

President Roosevelt and his administration. That paper seems to search the political garbage cans for some example or statement to use as an excuse to attack indirectly or directly the President.

But I emphasize again that it is generally understood that President Grant himself is so prejudiced against President Roosevelt that he will not listen to anything he says, and that for one whom he respects to praise President Roosevelt in his presence raises his blood pressure seriously, because he, like President Clark, thinks sincerely that President Roosevelt is a real enemy of the Constitution and Government of the United States and that he is endangering the very life of the nation. Such is the tension as it is reliably reported about Church headquarters.

I have always been concerned over the adverse effects of the course of conservatism such as the Church leaders seem to have chosen. During the middle ages, men were so intent upon following authority and tradition that it was not popular to deviate from established usages and ideas. To innovate was objectionable, but rather to do as had been done was the proper thing. While traveling in 1936, we found in Palestine and more so in more remote Damascus in Syria that such was the case to the extent that in some communities and sections when a building was too far gone to be used any longer, they would rebuild it as near as they could as it had previously been. We were shown the foundation of an old residence that was cleared for the erection on it of a new building to be as much like the old one as possible. The buildings in the neighborhood indicated that they were likewise preserved with no material change being made. Improvements that constituted anything akin to innovation were omitted. Simplicity, antiquity, and economy in construction were the central thoughts.<sup>22</sup>

### Retirement

At the end of the decade, I had decided that after eighty-two years of life it was time to think of retiring. My resignation and retirement were due to several causes—my age, almost eighty-two, was prime among them. My resignation was accepted to take effect July 19, 1940, less than two months short of my eighty-second

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<sup>22</sup> Memorandum dated Nov. 1944, Box 1, fd 3.

birthday. My health, however, was never better so that was not a controlling factor, but my concern over it certainly was.

Mrs. Moyle and I had judiciously prepared for the day of my retirement. In addition to a very nice home in the city, we had the beautiful cottage at Brighton. We had concluded in 1921 that the farm at Cottonwood would be the place where we would spend the most time in the summer, however, so we built a cottage there also beside the lake and made it suitable for spring and fall use when Brighton would not be available. But my love of the outdoors and a nearness to the mountains has always been extreme, so I loved Brighton most of all. In spite of this, Mrs. Moyle urged giving up Brighton and using the farm exclusively in the summer, and that we did. We wanted to enjoy for a few years at least the provisions we had made so many years before for our last days on earth, and I had work to do that could only be done at my age by retiring from active service to a place of peace.

While my investments had not been planned to produce with certainty an income, I thought that the property we had would carry us through. As previously stated, my investments were largely influenced by my likes; I bought Brighton because I loved the place. I love livestock, and consequently have considerable holdings in it, but I have also invested heavily in such things as mining and real estate, because I wanted a real stake in my native Utah and its industries, and into the same all of the extra money that came my way went, much of which produces no or little income. I have lost heavily as well as made some.

The most controlling reason for resigning was a desire to be with our children and their numerous families, and to be with our old friends at the finish.<sup>23</sup>

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<sup>23</sup> Undated memorandum, Box 8, fd 9. See additionally for the New Deal period the following: interview with Evelyn Moyle Nelson by Gene A. Sessions, 20 June 1974, transcript of twelve pages, CLA, pp. 4-7; interview with Sara Moyle Creer by Gene A. Sessions, 3 July 1974, transcript of nineteen pages, CLA, pp. 16-17; interview with James D. Moyle by Gene A. Sessions, 11 Aug. 1974, transcript of eighteen pages, CLA, pp. 1-12; Gene A. Sessions, ed., "A View of James Henry Moyle: His Diaries and Letters," unpublished manuscript, 1974, CLA, pp. 89-129.



*Chapter 10*

# **OBSERVATIONS ON THE INHERITANCE OF CHURCH LEADERSHIP**

## **Evolution of the Royal Family Concept**

I have spent my life in devotion to Democracy and Mormonism, but my nearness to their leaders has at times raised serious questions in my mind about their worthiness. Charity must prevail and I have tried to see each in the light of the good he has done. Power has seemed to me to be a big problem. Joseph Smith, for example, if he had lived long in the seclusion of the Rocky Mountains where his word would have been the law and the end of the matter, would have developed even greater dominance over material affairs than did Brigham Young. It is instinctive in man (and they were both mortal men) to love power. The more power men exercise the more they think it belongs to them. In both cases they and their followers believed that they were divinely called to exercise great power. Though they placed a healthy general restriction on the exercise of power and set forth grand and fundamental principles of government, each of the two prophets wanted his own children to enjoy privileges not enjoyed by other families. This was notable in the provisions made for the enjoyment forever of the family of the Prophet in the Mansion House in Nauvoo, and

still more important the inheritance of the right of Presidency of the Church. The actual position of the Prophet on the latter is not clear except in the general principles he enunciated, which were clearly against that proposition. But evidently something was said or done to give apparent justification for the claim of the Reorganized Church that the Presidency of the Church was a divinely right vested in the posterity of Joseph's descendants. Its outstanding cornerstone is that only a son or grandson could be President and Prophet of the Church and that church persists with an intelligent following into the hundreds of thousands.<sup>1</sup>

Brigham seemed to have been affected with the same ambition as Joseph Smith, namely to have a son at the head of the Church. By making a young man an apostle, as was the case with President Young in his son Brigham, Jr., he hoped to have a son who would become the senior apostle and thereby president. In fact, all of the apostles selected, other than favored sons, were selected when they were in middle or matured life, and therefore they were not so likely to become president, unless they lived to great age. Brigham, Jr., did become the President of the Twelve because he outlived his senior apostles, although he did not live long enough to become President. It has been the common fate of families of the great in the Church and out to be made up of all kinds of people, good, bad, and indifferent. Even Father Adam's second son murdered his own righteous brother because of jealousy. Jealousy, I believe, did more than anything else to turn the three witnesses of the Book of Mormon from their great prophet and the Church itself. It is a corrupting, damning sin that should be avoided like poison. Jealousy, like selfishness and particularly selfish ambition, has led many of the best astray. One of the most impressive things to me in my interview of two hours with David Whitmer was the fact that he declared that Joseph Smith became a fallen prophet of God through the influence over him of Sidney Rigdon, when the Prophet had made him the second elder in the Church over

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<sup>1</sup> Memorandum dated Jan. 1945, Box 12, fd 1; James Henry Moyle Collection, Library-Archives, Historical Department, Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City, hereinafter cited as CLA. All references hereinafter to box and folder (fd) are for items from this collection. The RLDS church recently abandoned the inheritance principle with the appointment of a non-Smith family member as president.

those who had organized the Church and made it what it was when Rigdon became a member.<sup>2</sup>

I have no doubt that Joseph Smith made mistakes that were offensive to each of the three witnesses and that contributed to their alienation from him. But those mistakes were not comparable with the mistakes each of the three witnesses made. I am inclined, therefore, to think that Joseph Smith had performed his work, and that had he gone to the vastnesses of the mountains where his prestige would have been greater than that of Brigham's, it might have resulted in his making more serious mistakes. Power loves and lives on power. It feeds on power, which it never voluntarily surrenders. The more it is exercised the more it holds on to power and soon leads to the conviction that it is a right, possibly a divine right. It has been thus that false kingcraft, false priestcraft, have been developed and become so supreme and arbitrary that they could do no wrong, however outrageous the act: "The King can do no wrong." But he could not prevent men thinking that wrong was done. I do not believe that a prophet of God, however much inspired, can do no wrong. I do believe that the instinct of man leads to wrong as well as to right, and that no prophet of God is perfect, and that, on the contrary, he is imperfect, just as all human beings are imperfect and do imperfect and objectionable things. Constructive criticism is commendable and unconstructive criticism is objectionable and I do hope I avoid the latter. It is interesting to note how the criticisms of Joseph Smith and Brigham Young have been soon forgotten and their virtues are extolled and grow with time, while small errors go at the same time into the discard.<sup>3</sup>

Speaking of the selection of Church leaders, I know of none where the President of the Church was not personally acquainted with the selectee. I know of no reason why he should have made a selection of one whom he did not know. The reasons are abundant for knowing the facts so far as available, but I have thought it would be wonderful if one were selected unknown to

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<sup>2</sup> Memorandum dated Dec. 1944, Box 1, fd 4 (Item 4). See Gene A. Sessions, ed., "A View of James Henry Moyle: His Diaries and Letters," unpublished manuscript, 1974, CLA, pp. 28-30.

<sup>3</sup> Memorandum dated Dec. 1944, Box 1, fd 4 (Item 5).

the General Authorities of the Church (like the calling of King David) who would become a great and outstanding leader. But this has not yet happened. Moreover, so many of the apostles have been the sons of the prominent leaders of the Church that I wondered at times if anyone else could be called. My memories of many of these selections are clear.

### **The Case of Brigham Young**

My recollections of this phenomenon commence with the two sons of Brigham Young. John W. was thirty-two years old when his father, in the last months of his life, made him his second counselor. That appointment was generally credited to the personal ambition and folly of the father. The son, however, was one of the most magnetic men I ever knew. He was indeed a natural leader who had distinguished himself in both good and bad outside of and largely away from the Church, chiefly in adventurous railroad building in Utah where he started an eastern outlet for Salt Lake City, but got only to Park City, a western outlet which only got to Black Rock on the shore of the Great Salt Lake, and a northern outlet from Ogden that ended in Cache Valley. He did some grading on another road from the Big Cottonwood outlet to the east and on the Provo River above Heber City, the remains of which were visible when I visited the locality some years ago. His largest adventure was in New Mexico and old Mexico in building a western transcontinental road to the Pacific. He had large ideas. The bad part of it all was his getting money he could not repay. He was a really charming gentlemen, however, and always devoted to the faith of his great father. He had a real ambition to make Utah great and her people admired, though he did very little in the Church, except during the few months he was the second man in it and then he was a model of enthusiasm and devotion. I do not remember of a notable accomplishment in his term, but I have not investigated the subject. He was not long enough at it to do much. He had a real ambition and doubtless would have done much one way or the other if his ambition and purpose to be president had been gratified. The most remarkable thing about John W. Young was his resourcefulness. In New Mexico he had repeatedly and grievously disappointed the large group of men who worked for him and to accomplish his ends had made serious

misrepresentations. Finally, many of these men, being crude western frontiersmen, determined to settle up with John W. through hanging him or otherwise putting him out of business. But when they confronted him, he was the same placid, suave, and resourceful friend that he had always been, and they left feeling that he was not bad enough to destroy and even renewed their belief that he would some day pay them what he had so long owed them, which he never did.<sup>4</sup>

I was attorney for John W. later in two important matters in his life. His was the most brilliant mind of all the Youngs except for that of his father. I liked and admired him, though I literally hated some of the important things he did, and things which in business were notoriously objectionable. His marvelous magnetism relieved many of their money, which was never returned. Yet as a rule, and so far as I know, he got the money for what he thought were commendable purposes, especially railroad building. He had bigger ideas than purse to support them. I do not know of anything he did as a Church leader that injured the Church, and I presume he did some good, but I do not remember what. He overflowed with big ideas of what should be done.

John W.'s good qualities appealed to his father, and his ambition to have a great son in his old age led him astray. For thus far he had no son who had developed marked distinction. That was the case though he had selected and made his namesake Brigham an apostle when thirty-two years of age. Brigham, Jr., had never done anything that particularly appealed to the people and never did, though he went along as an apostle in an ordinary and acceptable way. He was a pleasing character but not an outstanding man. On the contrary, he was a man of ordinary accomplishments though he was personally well-liked, and physically well-filled out. So it seems certain that the President had a real ambition for his sons. He ordained more than one of them to the apostleship who were never called to serve in the quorum. I remember only the name of one thus ordained, and that was Heber, a very amiable, nice gentleman who did not harm anyone and accomplished but

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<sup>4</sup> Memorandum dated Dec. 1944, Box 1, fd 4 (Item 4). See Dean C. Jessee, ed., *Letters of Brigham Young to His Sons* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Co., 1974), pp. 91-126.

comparatively little in any sphere except to rear a fine family and make a fine father, husband, and citizen, and a good bookkeeper. I refer to the facts only to show how men with much power will act when they let their personal desire control their action. Brigham Young was and always will be great and grow in greatness as time passes.<sup>5</sup>

President Grant has often spoken of the crookedness and lying of John W. Young, so I asked him why President Young had made him a counselor in the First Presidency. He did not answer the query, but said that he had made the motion in the Council of the Twelve that John W. be removed from the Presidency upon the death of President Young, though Daniel H. Wells, the other of Brigham's counselors, was retained.<sup>6</sup>

In spite of this experience, each of the succeeding presidents felt that they should have at least a family representative in the apostleship, and appointed sons when unusually young so that they would be in line to become (with reasonable certainty) the president. Each had members of his family given offices that they probably would not have been given. President Snow was an exception, but not in thought so far as I can learn. President Grant had no son, but all the rest exercised the prerogative. Early deaths, excommunication, and results generally of the appointment of sons of presidents in their early life are at least significant. But for those fatalities and excommunications during my time, there would always have been a son of a president at the head of the Church, provided the sons had lived a normal term of years.<sup>7</sup>

### Sons and Apostles

President Taylor made his son, John W., an apostle when he was twenty-five. He had not distinguished himself above that of the many superior young men in the Church. He served only a few years and was excommunicated for disobedience. President Taylor also made an older son (who had not been what might be called a

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<sup>5</sup> Memorandum dated Dec. 1944, Box 1, fd 4 (Item 4). See Jessee, *Letters*, pp. 19-20, 127-42.

<sup>6</sup> Memorandum dated Mar. 1943, Box 9, fd 7.

<sup>7</sup> Memorandum dated Jan. 1945, Box 12, fd 1.

real businessman) manager of the *Deseret News*, apparently to give him a much better job than he had ever held. I do not recall that he had done anything in particular to indicate that he was fitted for the position. Unquestionably, he never would have been selected by any other President of the Church. I knew him well, and he was a fine good man but not of the newspaper type.

Wilford Woodruff, another of the choicest of men, made his son an apostle at twenty-four. He was just like the numerous other good and worthy young Latter-day Saints, and again, had done nothing to distinguish himself above those of his age. In fact, like John W. Taylor and Brigham Young, Jr., neither before or after his appointment did he do anything to indicate his superiority, while there were many men in the Church who had given evidence of great superiority. Young Woodruff served only seven years, though he was ordinarily of good health. The Lord, therefore, did not seem to give these young men any favor over their fellows. If either had lived as an apostle as their fathers did to a normal old age one of them would have been president of the Church. But such was not on the Lord's program. To me, it was a case of man proposing and the Lord disposing, and an evidence that the Lord is at the helm, piloting the ship to its destined port.

If the whole truth were known, I am sure it would be apparent that President Snow was afflicted with just the same desire but could not see the way clear to accomplish it. It is known that he had no son of the older families whom he could with a surety of success propose, though he did have one who was made president of a stake, and there was at least one other who was much on a par with the favored sons named. His situation was complicated some by the fact that in his old age he married a rather fine, charming young lady whom I know had quite an appeal to at least one of my intimate friends; she was a vivacious, vigorous, and intelligent schoolmate of mine, and she had a promising but very young son, Leroi, upon whom the father doted, and I am sure would have selected if he had thought it possible. He had the boy sit on the highest seats of the Tabernacle at General Conferences as an aide. It was common talk that the President wanted him made an apostle, and why it did not go farther I do not know.<sup>8</sup> He had never done anything to indicate

that he was apostolic timber. He is, however, a very fine Church member. One thing is generally understood, namely that the apostles were opposed to Leroi's appointment or it is believed the appointment would have been made.<sup>9</sup>

I would like to see a more detailed history of the sons of the presidents who were made apostles. George Q. Cannon was so near a president that I include his son, Abraham. I am particularly interested in what these young men did for the Church, and justification for their appointments. I have concluded that it was the same in every case (with one possible exception) the personal desire of the father and not the inspiration of the Lord. I am giving my impression, however, and not final conclusion. I remember particularly the appointment of Joseph Fielding Smith, Jr. His father had previously had his son, Hyrum, age twenty-nine, made an apostle just seventeen days after he had become president. Hyrum had nothing in particular to his credit except that he had, I presume, always been a good boy and a fine young man. If there were any special accomplishments to his credit, I had not and have not heard of them. And then to appoint another son in his youth, at age thirty-three, who seemed less attractive personally seemed to the casual observer passing strange. Joseph Fielding was always very unsociable and extremely reserved. I well remember passing him much later on the street when he was an apostle. I had never formally met him until some time after, and he would nod his head very slightly in recognition but indicating if anything more that he was not interested even when I was generally recognized in a very different way as a coming young lawyer of some prominence. But he looked so serious and occupied with his own thought and uninterested in others that he presented the appearance of being extremely quiet and reserved.

Hyrum was, I conclude, more brilliant than Joseph Fielding. I never heard or read much of what he said or did. He distinguished himself (if that is the way to put it) in denouncing in extravagant terms those who appeared in bathing suits at Black Rock and Salt Air Beach when that first became popular fifty years ago. He was rashly in favor of preserving the modesty of

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<sup>8</sup> Memorandum dated Dec. 1944, Box 1, fd 4 (Item 4).

<sup>9</sup> Memorandum dated Jan. 1945, Box 12, fd 1.

the past which absolutely prohibited the exposure of a lady's limbs above the ankle. To permit the sight of the calf of a woman's leg was immodest if not immoral, and likewise her breast below the neck. The newspapers reported his address on the subject in the Tabernacle which was very sensational. He was extreme on the subject. To illustrate the conditions of the time, when I purchased my first bathing suit, I tried to get the right kind and so far as I remember the only kind shown me. It was knit and covered me from my toes to my neck. I was of athletic build. There was no desire to obscure any part of my figure except as modesty and propriety then demanded. I did not wear that suit much and soon got another, but I did wear it some. I soon found that it was alright to wear low neck and expose the knee. To have appeared in tights with no curtain or second cover over the hips and crotch would have been emphatically immodest in a man or woman for many years. The slight covering which prevails now would have been shameful, either in man or woman. Anyway, Hyrum M. Smith impressed me as having the makings of a more attractive personality than Joseph Fielding and probably would have developed into a fine preacher. He spoke with freedom and with some distinction, so I believe he would have made a creditable record. As it is, I have but little remembrance of his speaking because I heard him only a few times. I never heard of any enthusiasm for the speaking of either of the two, though I now like to hear Joseph Fielding.<sup>10</sup>

I have never heard the story denied that when Hyrum was appointed, Joseph Fielding's mother (a sister of Hyrum's mother) was very determined that her son should be equally honored. She was a woman of positive and aggressive characteristics and an extremist in some respects, especially as head of the women's department in the temple. She insisted rigidly that formalities to the smallest detail be followed. Another story of like significance is of interest. Hyrum was reported to have said to Presiding Bishop Nibley something to the effect that he had a premonition that two of them was more than the Lord would approve so He would have to take one

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<sup>10</sup> Memorandum dated Dec. 1944, Box 1, fd 4 (Item 4).

of them to even things up. That seemed a foreboding of what happened when Hyrum died so young.<sup>11</sup>

The above may not be justified, though it is true; I am more than pleased to be able to present the other side of my views, which reflect credit rather than unfavorable criticism. The brother who survived, Joseph Fielding, is doing a splendid work in my opinion as historian of the Church. His writing on Church doctrine, his maintenance of the pure and unadulterated principles of the Gospel, his adherence to the orthodox ideals of the Church and maintenance of them are courageous in the face of the more liberal and modern thinking of so many of our faith. He is not a popular speaker or writer but he hits straight from the shoulder with pearls of truth and strict adherence to principles as they have come to us from the past. I do not mean that we would always think alike; we are very different, and yet as to fundamentals of religion we do agree and I regard him as a real upstanding pillar in the Church. His life has justified his appointment. He has devoted himself to his job with singleness of purpose that is commendable.<sup>12</sup>

I was greatly prejudiced against what I thought and said was so manifestly nepotism, but I am pleased to say that Hyrum gave the Church a son, Joseph F., who was deemed worthy to be the Presiding Patriarch of the Church, and Joseph Fielding has by his industry and devotion to the Church and its welfare won my esteem, confidence, and praise. By very many he is regarded as too orthodox, rigid, and unyielding—straight-laced. I think, however, that he is a courageous, straight thinker.<sup>13</sup> It was John Smith (who gave me my blessing) whose family failed to produce a son qualified for the office of Patriarch, that is if continued in the favored direct line by right of seniorship. So they very properly and regularly selected this son of a junior line of inheritance, a very fine, highly-educated university professor of speech, but not one of the most serious kind, rather more witty than sober-sided. I believe he will make

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<sup>11</sup> Memorandum dated Feb., Apr. 1944, Box 10, fd 6. See also memorandum dated Sept. 1944, Box 1, fd 1.

<sup>12</sup> Memorandum dated Dec. 1944, Box 1, fd 4 (Item 4).

<sup>13</sup> Memorandum dated Sept. 1944, Box 1, fd 1.

good, as he does have a spiritual side. The Church, however, seemed loath to leave the line of seniority.<sup>14</sup>

George Q. Cannon was the most potent second man in the Church during his long service as a counselor to the presidents of the Church. He was a very choice intellect, a man who would have made a great ambassador to any king's court both in personality and qualifications, a natural diplomat and leader. But he, too, seemed to have the ambition of the great leaders under whom he served, Taylor, Woodruff, Snow, and Smith. He had a son made an apostle when a young man, Abraham H., who was in the same class as the sons of his superiors.

It really seems to me that the Lord took these favored sons of their fathers to Himself because He wanted some other for President, and that was the surest way to accomplish what He wanted and still let men exercise their free agency. Abraham H. Cannon, John W. Taylor, Owen Woodruff, and Hyrum M. Smith were all men of apparently good bodies, normal minds, and in good health, but the Lord took them.<sup>15</sup> Abraham H. Cannon was made an apostle at thirty and died seven years later. He was a bright, promising, and worthy young man, who at the time of his appointment also had nothing so far as I know to his credit that would single him out beyond numerous others, but the prominence of his father made his selection easy and natural in view of the manifest policy of honoring distinguished fathers by placing a son in line.<sup>16</sup> It is singular that Abraham H. Cannon died so early as did also Owen Woodruff, particularly the latter; that John W. Taylor was excommunicated as was also the case of Dr. Richard R. Lyman; and that of all the sons of the great men in the Church of my time who were appointed apostles, none of them has made an outstanding record. I think Joseph Fielding and George Albert Smith are the most conspicuous possible exceptions. Stephen L. Richards is the most polished speaker now of them all. I discussed once with President Grant the question of why so many sons of presidents and leaders were made

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<sup>14</sup> Memorandum dated Dec. 1944, Box 1, fd 4 (Item 5). See Irene M. Bates and E. Gary Smith, *Lost Legacy: The Mormon Office of Presiding Patriarch* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1996), pp. 173-200.

<sup>15</sup> Memorandum dated Dec. 1944, Box 1, fd 4 (Item 4).

<sup>16</sup> Memorandum dated Feb., Apr. 1944, Box 10, fd 6.

apostles. As I remember, his reply was that there was no reason why they should be excluded or not appointed if they were acceptable men.<sup>17</sup>

Thus, four of the seven presidents of the Church have appointed their young sons to the apostleship. Brigham Young, Jr., died before he reached the final step, and the rest died or were removed much sooner, with the exception of Joseph Fielding Smith. His brother, Hyrum, died before he reached forty-six. John W. Taylor was excommunicated, and Owen Woodruff died in the prime of life at thirty-two. It is also pertinent that the three presidents who did not appoint sons to the Twelve had no chance to do so, except President Snow who was credited nevertheless with the desire to do so. President Grant has no son and the Prophet Joseph did not have one old enough. How can one resist concluding from this that human nature asserts itself in the action of the best of men, and that the Lord did not want any of these sons to be president? And is it not a warning to future presidents not to appoint sons in their early youth unless they are sure of their justification and that they are not following sinful thinking and selfish reasoning?

President Grant was selected when he was twenty-five. While his father had been a real light in the Church and a power therein, Heber, at that time, was the son of a poor widow whom he says earned her bread with her needle and thread. But the Lord had a real work for him to do. Though so delicate in health that the life insurance companies would not sell him life insurance, he has fulfilled his great mission and still functions as president at eighty-eight. He, too, was not a great preacher of doctrine, yet he bears a greater and more impressive testimony of the divinity of Mormonism than any other living man. It is his most distinguishing accomplishment. At the same time he is a great mixer, a friend and associate of practical businessmen of the highest order, politicians, in fact men of every class from the humblest to the greatest. He is unique in his apparent fitness and unfitness, but withal success as

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<sup>17</sup> Memorandum dated Dec. 1944, Box 1, fd 4 (Item 4). Of the sixty-four Mormon apostles who had served up to the time of Moyle's writing, thirty-eight were born after the organization of the church in 1830. Of that number, fifteen, or nearly 40 percent, were the sons of general authorities. Additionally, several others were grandsons or related otherwise to general authorities.

a President of the Church. I have seen him in important Church meetings with pencil and paper on his knee figuring I am sure on finance when the Church service was on, and he would still not miss the good things. He is a fine mixture of business, finance, and spirituality.<sup>18</sup>

President Grant more than any other has gone out of the old line leadership for his selection of apostles during his long leadership. Among his numerous selections to the Quorum of the Twelve are only two sons of apostles, Richard R. Lyman and Joseph F. Merrill. The former, the son of the president of the Quorum, Francis M. Lyman, fell from grace most unfortunately and was removed from the Church. He had been a university dean, notable engineer, and a real fine, capable man whom I personally liked notwithstanding his more than one weakness. I deeply deplored his failure.<sup>19</sup>

#### Among the Brethren

I do not know very much in detail about Joseph Smith's sons, but I do know very much about all the rest, and liked them all. I do not think I am unduly prejudiced against any one of them, had no differences or conflict with any. The same can be said so far as my knowledge goes of the grandsons. My knowledge of them has diminished as time passes and they increase.

I have seen much of all of the Utah leaders of the Church whose names stand out conspicuously for their accomplishments, except that most brilliant writer, Parley P. Pratt. I also have no personal recollection of Amasa Lyman or Ezra T. Benson. I only remember seeing Charles C. Rich. He impressed me because he was so tall and manly in appearance. His son, Ezra, a distinguished surgeon, reminded me most of him. Elder Rich was a man of fine presence and poise, and had good judgment.

Matthias F. Cowley, a nephew of President Taylor, was made an apostle at the age of thirty-nine, and then followed the course

<sup>18</sup> Memorandum dated Dec. 1944, Box 1, fd 4 (Item 4).

<sup>19</sup> Memorandum dated Sept. 1944, Box 1, fd 1. See Sessions, "View of James Henry Moyle," pp. 138-40. See also D. Michael Quinn, "The Mormon Hierarchy, 1832-1932: An American Elite," Ph.D. diss., Yale University, 1976. Quinn revised his dissertation into a two-volume study published in 1995 and 1997 by Signature Books (Salt Lake City): *The Mormon Hierarchy: Origins of Power* and *The Mormon Hierarchy: Extensions of Power*. Quinn's work would have been of great interest to Moyle.

of his cousin, John W. Taylor, to excommunication. Matt, as he was generally and affectionately called, was a real Christian who would have endured martyrdom for his faith as freely as any man I ever knew. I always regarded him as the nearest model of a real Latter-day Saint of all the boys I knew. We lived in adjoining wards and I speak from personal knowledge. He was also a most pleasing and impressive speaker, and must have made many converts to the Church in his long and active missionary efforts. But he lost his balance, religious equilibrium, and sound reasoning over the burning issue of polygamy. I thought he had gone to seed on the subject. There can be no doubt, however, that his urge for wives for himself and others was not sensual but religious.

George F. Richards was made an apostle at forty-five in 1906. He is a son of Franklin D. Richards by a plural wife, and was reared in Centerville or Farmington in farm surroundings. Like his father he is substantial, steady-going, deserving, slow of speech, deliberate but spiritually minded. He has a rather monotonous tone of voice which is not displeasing, not sparkling, and not especially attractive. He does not awaken or arouse enthusiasm, but emits logical reasoning in a plain way. He was doubtlessly selected because he was good and deserving, but with nothing very outstanding to his credit. His half brothers, sons of the first wife, Franklin S. and C. C., as he was called, were each men of much more than ordinary calibre, both successful lawyers, though not college-bred. They picked up the law at home as they went along in the ordinary vocations of life. Both were devoted Church members, the first the leading Church attorney, and their mother was a dominating, clever, and attractive woman living in the city of Ogden. Yet they were passed by for a more obscure, farm-reared son who was less qualified as a public speaker. Some thought, including the writer, that the plural wife son was preferred because he was born and reared in polygamy. He, too, was in harmony with the leadership of the Church in all things including politics; Joseph F. Smith was so violently Republican that not a few thought it influenced Richards to some extent while Franklin S. and C. C. were pronounced Democrats and stood by their guns. My own thought on the subject was that politics did cut some figure and that being a polygamous son did also. The essential and most dominating requirement of an apostle was always to be in harmony with his quorum and the First

Presidency. At all events, Franklin S. and C. C. (from the intellectual standpoint) seemed better qualified and their standing in the Church was unquestioned and such is still the opinion of the two now as their lives close in comparative obscurity. Franklin S. distinguished himself in his old age as president of the high priests' quorum of the Ensign Stake. His children, however, all left the Church, though his wife was a very prominent worker in the Church and a fine Christian lady.<sup>20</sup>

George A. Smith was a counselor to Brigham Young. He was an immense, imposing man of fine intellect and influence, a real leader who was honored with the appointment of his big, wholesome son, John Henry, to the apostleship. John Henry was a natural leader, a man of unusual force and good mind. He became second counselor to Joseph F. Smith, a cousin of some degree, but he died very soon after. His son, George Albert, was also made an apostle. He distinguished himself as a Church worker and leader in the YMMIA and won his spurs on his own merit. He was a most likeable young man, with good ability and one of the best mixers in the leadership of the Church, yet highly spiritual. He manifested it more conspicuously than does President Grant, who does not have so naturally the spiritual nature. George Albert, as he is generally called, is a director of several important business corporations, but I always thought that was due to his popularity generally, and a desire on the part of Church leaders to increase the small income he received from the Church.

### **Prophets to Come**

George Albert is an exceptionally loveable man. He has traveled extensively, especially in connection with the Boy Scout movement in which he has distinguished himself and has been greatly honored by the national organization. The Church wisely and early made Boy Scouting a real feature of the work of its YMMIA and George Albert its leader. While he is not a great preacher or unusual intellect, he is fine in both. He is sufficiently intellectual and predominatingly spiritual, just the character the Lord could easily use if needed for the accomplishment of some great objective. I am impressed with that fact because of the

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<sup>20</sup> Memorandum dated Feb., Apr. 1944, Box 10, fd 6.

possibility of his becoming President of the Church if he lived longer than President Grant. I do not think George Albert was ever strong like President Grant; he is very slender, and his health was never that of a strong man. Yet he keeps going with ups and downs of health. I cannot help but think there is a providence in his continued life, and that there was the same in the shorter life of the favored sons to whom I have referred and who seemed to have a better prospect of life. I would say that President McKay, even in his poor health, is being preserved to be President of the Church. George F. Richards comes first, but he is in his eighties and also not in the best of health. While he is a good and capable man, he does not seem to be well-fitted for the presidency, for his experience (while extensive) is not comparable with that of Smith or McKay. Just as I did not ever think that Rudger Clawson or Reed Smoot would become president, so do I not think Richards will, though he is but two slender lives from it. But again, man proposes and God disposes, and he might have a work for George F. to do. He is a highly spiritual man and was reared in the largest and most exemplary family of any man I know; the Richards family is most numerous in Church prominence next only to the Smiths.<sup>21</sup>

It seems clear to me that I would not make such (as it seems to me) grievous mistakes and that fitness, merit, and the inspiration of the Lord alone would govern my choices. It is clear that I should not say whether the inspiration of the Lord governed it or not, for that is rather left to others whose responsibility to the Lord is at stake. I can only speak and act for myself, but I can wonder whether one such as myself would act selfishly in such an important matter if the responsibility was mine. I believe I would not, but do not know. It is certain that God only does know. I do know that in the Biblical days in Israel, official leadership was inherited, but not always. The theory there seems to be clear, that such honors and powers are legitimate subjects of inheritance or have been with the approval of the Lord. Another thing has impressed me, namely that recognized greatness is partially due to our remoteness from it. The closer we get to great men the more they appear to be like other men. In response to this fact and in their vanity, many seek to make it difficult to get into their presence and have intercourse

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<sup>21</sup> Memorandum dated Dec. 1944, Box 1, fd 4 (Item 4).

with them, so formalities and obstacles to reach them are created. That is not a weakness in President Heber J. Grant. His simplicity and frankness is charming to me. Up to very recent years you could walk in on him unannounced. There are, however, practical objections to that as visitors become more numerous and time more important. I cannot resist, however, thinking how charming the lack of pretense was in President Grant before J. Reuben Clark became his counselor.<sup>22</sup>

### **A Hunger for Power**

What I would make clear if I could is that real great prophets of God are after all mere human beings with all the weaknesses of humans, and that their efforts to favor their own were merely unauthorized, unapproved excrescences, that could not be made realizations. And thus by death or otherwise, little came from the unauthorized action.<sup>23</sup>

The hunger for power grew in the Roman Catholic Church until it dominated and even humiliated kings and emperors, however mighty. The empire was made the tool of the Church and in modern times the state its servant to the extent of a union of church and state. As I understand it, that was true of the English Church and would now be even in this enlightened age if the power existed in America. The Church is "by divine right" placed above all human institutions including the state, and the doctrine of infallibility in its leadership persists in the Catholic Church and to a large extent in that of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. Wherever the Church has had its own way there has been either dominance of church over the state and in modern times a union of church and state wherever it was possible (and it was so in Utah). I hope I will not be misunderstood in this connection. I do not object to the course pursued politically in early Utah. It was infinitely more Christian than the narrowness of that which the sectarian churches would have had. The leadership of the Latter-day Saints is today very different in many important respects from what it was in my youth. Then we had in the territory of Utah a very complete union of church and state. That, however, was an apparent necessity or at

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<sup>22</sup> Memorandum dated Sept. 1944, Box 1, fd 1.

<sup>23</sup> Memorandum dated Feb., Apr. 1944, Box 10, fd 6.

all events a wise policy, but it provided a fertile field for the growth of power, which though exercised with much wisdom did develop dictatorial power. Some of the best minds in the territory became little czars in their limited fields; they were common men otherwise of the finest character, even otherwise benevolent. So none of us has the right to be the judge of our brother or president.

In my youth it was next to a high crime to say anything against or disparaging of a Church leader. The rule was daily taught to follow your religious file leader and do what he directed. On the whole it worked splendidly, but there were many who did not follow the admonition. It seems inherent in man to want to expose the weakness or apparent weakness of others and not see the beam in his own eye while magnifying the mote in a brother's eye. I have often found myself in the latter class, but as I get older I am gratified to think there is less of it in me than there was formerly. I find too much of good in all to justify uncharitable criticism. Most adverse criticism is uncharitable and a real crime against virtue and justice. It is a pity we cannot live longer and do better as we live longer, and see the folly of narrowness, bitterness, and sin. I wonder how free I am from what I dislike so much and condemn in others. I feel sure I am getting away from it. As I put away the struggle for a place in the sun and content myself more with what I have, and seek more to make my last days more virtuous and useful for others, I feel less of selfishness and more of love, justice, and approach to the divine. As a matter of fact, I wonder if it is wise to point out as I have done herein the weaknesses in the men I honor, respect, and follow so generally—men for whom I would be willing to suffer and make great sacrifice. My justification is that the truth should be known and that error should be exposed and corrected. Covering up error and wrong-doing encourages it, while exposure restrains and discourages it. I would have my readers know that in the leadership of the Church I have found men I believed were inspired of God as far as the Lord could inspire them and still give to them their free agency to commit error if they would, and that all men irrespective of their places in the Church continue to be human and subject to all weakness of human nature, especially where selfish interest is involved. It is easy to see things the way you want them and so it is with the highest in office, and they too frequently act accordingly and yield to the human desires of their heart. If the

Church leaders are viewed only from their official actions (which become the actions of the Church approved by the Church in General Conference) all can follow them with safety, and do otherwise with great unsafety.

**Mormon Democrat: A Concluding Statement**

Politics is the one and only subject of my difference with the Church itself through its highest leadership. But God has given me and all men the freedom of differing with the individual views and positions taken by the leaders of the Church, however much they may be in accord among themselves. It is not until action is taken by the Church that its members are bound. This, of course, is not in accord with the position expressed by so many that Latter-day Saints are led by inspired men in all things. Many now take that position, but I repeat that it is not the prerogative, according to that leadership itself, to act as ecclesiastical leaders in politics, or to undertake as such leaders to lead or direct what Church subordinates shall do in politics. On the contrary, by their own solemn and formal declarations it is not their duty to exercise ecclesiastical control in politics, but rather for the Church members to follow their own convictions therein. If that is kept in mind, differences with Church leaders in politics are not violations of religious duty. Fundamentally, the Latter-day Saints believe that the Church is the Kingdom of God, and that we are a part of the Church and Kingdom of God on earth. That puts Latter-day Saints in the same position as Roman Catholics in saying that the Church is superior to all earthly organizations. But it is my contention that in earthly affairs it is our duty to give unto Caesar that which is due Caesar, and that Latter-day Saints must honor and obey the laws of the land and in this country its divine Constitution, which prohibits a union of church and state, and demands obedience to laws enacted thereunder even if it means discontinuance of the practice of a fundamental law of the Church. This means complete obedience to its laws even though in conflict with the laws of the Church. It means that or leave the country, or live in prison and do nothing.<sup>24</sup>

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<sup>24</sup> Memorandum dated Jan. 1945, Box 12, fd 1.



# BIOGRAPHICAL APPENDIX

The information in this biographical appendix, designed to aid the reader in identifying those individuals mentioned in the memoirs, was drawn primarily from the following sources: obituaries in the *Salt Lake Tribune*, *Deseret News*, and *New York Times*; *Biographical Record of Salt Lake City and Vicinity* (Chicago: National Historical Record Co., 1902); Ralph V. Chamberlin, *The University of Utah: A History of Its First Hundred Years, 1850-1950* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1960); Dean C. Jessee, ed., *Letters of Brigham Young to His Sons* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Co., 1974); Noble Warrum, ed., *Utah Since Statehood, Historical and Biographical*, 4 vols. (Salt Lake City: S. J. Clarke, 1919); materials in the Family History Library of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City, Utah; Orson F. Whitney, *History of Utah*, 4 vols. (Salt Lake City: George Q. Cannon and Sons, 1892-1904); *The National Cyclopedia of American Biography* (New York: James T. White and Co., 1891); Allen Johnson, ed., *Dictionary of American Biography*, 11 vols. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1964); Andrew Jenson, *Latter-day Saints Biographical Encyclopedia*, 4 vols. (Salt Lake City: Deseret News, 1936); Frank Esshom, *Pioneers and Prominent Men of Utah* (Salt Lake City: Utah Pioneers Book Publishing Co., 1913); Lawrence R. Flake, *Mighty Men of Zion: General Authorities of the Last*

*Dispensation* (Salt Lake City: Karl D. Butler, 1974); and *Who's Who in America* (Chicago: A. N. Marquis Company, 1899-1973).

ADAMS, ORVAL W. (1884-1968), noted Utah banker, was elected president of the American Bankers Association in 1937 where he gained notoriety with his anti-New Deal statements. In addition to numerous corporation directorships, he served as president and board chairman of Zions First National Bank for eleven years.

ALLEN, CLARENCE E. (1852-1932), came to Utah from Ohio in 1881 to teach in the Salt Lake Academy. After engaging in mining, he entered politics in 1888, being elected to the legislature as a liberal. Following the division of the Liberal Party on national party lines, Allen was among a group that refused to go along. In 1892 he ran against the Democratic and Republican candidates for Congress after which he finally left the dissipating Liberal Party and became a Republican. He was elected to Congress in 1895 and took his seat as the first Representative from the State of Utah. He was a staunch silverite and was defeated for a full term in 1896 by William H. King. He later moved to California where he died.

ANDERSON, JOHN M. (1912-69), a missionary from Logan, Utah, served under Moyle in the Eastern States. He was a leader in the effort to use radio as a missionary tool. He later moved to Wyoming where he became one of that state's prominent businessmen.

ANDERSON, W. F. (1823-1903), prominent Salt Lake City physician, was a Virginian who joined the LDS church in 1856 in California. He subsequently became president of the first Utah medical society and served as division surgeon of the Nauvoo Legion. Moyle knew him as an early owner of a cabin at Brighton.

ANGELL, TRUMAN O. (1810-87), was the chief architect on the Salt Lake temple and other important Utah structures. Born in Rhode Island, he was the brother of Mary Ann Angell Young, Brigham Young's wife.

ASHTON, BRIGHAM W. (1858-1912), young Moyle's "best friend," was superintendent of the Granite School District at the time of his death. He was first a stone-cutter and then taught in the LDS ward schools. In 1900 he became Salt Lake County superintendent of schools and head of the Granite District when the county system divided in 1905.

ASHTON, CORA LINDSAY (1864-1960), whom Moyle baptized in North Carolina, came to Utah in 1881 where she became the second wife of Edward T. Ashton, later bishop of the Twenty-fourth Ward.

ASHTON, EDWARD (1821-1904), came from Wales to Utah in 1852. He

settled in the Fifteenth Ward where his three oldest sons became young Moyle's favorite companions. After the coming of the railroad, Ashton worked on the Ogden and Salt Lake line for twenty-five years.

ASHTON, EDWARD T. (1855-1923), was one of Moyle's boyhood friends in the Fifteenth Ward. He later served as bishop of the Twenty-fourth Ward.

ASHTON, JEDEDIAH W. (1856-1911), Moyle's boyhood friend, went to work for the Union Pacific Railroad at the age of fourteen and then became head machinist for Silver Brothers in Salt Lake City. He was also well-known for his talents and abilities in music.

BAKER, NEWTON D. (1871-1937), a Cleveland lawyer, was U.S. Secretary of War during the Wilson administration. He was a potent force in Ohio Democratic politics for many years, though his service in the War Department was his only major sortie into public life. His management of the American war effort during World War I gained for Baker the respect and admiration of the nation.

BAMBERGER, CLARENCE (1886-1984), graduated as a mining engineer from Cornell University in 1908 and did extensive postgraduate work in Berlin and Paris. Returning to the western states, he operated numerous mines in Utah, Colorado, and Nevada. He later chaired the Bamberger Investments Corporation. Throughout his life, Bamberger devoted himself to civic affairs both on the state and national level, and in 1972 was given the "Giant of Our City" award by the Salt Lake City Council.

BAMBERGER, SIMON (1847-1926), was born in Germany of Jewish parents and immigrated to the United States in 1861. He eventually came to Ogden where he opened a hotel and then built an interurban electric rail line between Ogden and Salt Lake City. After moving to Salt Lake City, he was elected to the legislature and eventually elected governor in 1916.

BARLOW, JAMES A., was a schoolmate of Moyle and later his missionary companion in the Southern States. Barlow's subsequent life history is obscure.

BARNES, WILLIAM (1817-97), was an English stonemason who joined the LDS church in Nauvoo in 1841. After working on the Nauvoo temple, he immigrated to Utah in 1854 where he went to work on Temple Block. He was then called to work on the temple at St. George, Utah, prior to leaving for a mission to Great Britain in 1879.

**BARNUM, CHARLES**, was a childhood friend of Moyle. Details of his life are obscure.

**BARTON, JOSEPH** (c. 1850-1932), was the Davis County attorney who accompanied Moyle on the reform school tour of the East in 1888. He practiced law in Kaysville for many years before moving to Oregon.

**BASKIN, R. N.** (1837-1918), graduated from the Harvard law school and came to Utah in 1865. A perennial candidate for Congress on the Liberal Ticket in the 1870s and 1880s, he was elected mayor of Salt Lake City in 1891. Baskin was known for his outspoken anti-Mormonism, and though his administration of the city government was comparatively progressive, he never sustained a substantial popularity.

**BEAN, WILLARD W.** (1868-1949), lived for twenty-four years in the Joseph Smith home in Palmyra, New York, serving as guide and caretaker at the site. He also wrote several missionary tracts for the church.

**BECK, JONAS N.** (1838-1907), was born in England. After joining the church and coming to Utah, he settled in Cache County where he farmed and worked as a painting contractor. He served in the Southern States Mission with Moyle in 1879.

**BENSON, EZRA T.** (1811-69), was baptized in Illinois in 1840. He was ordained an apostle in 1846 after several missions in the East and then accompanied Brigham Young to Salt Lake Valley in 1847. After several more missions, he was called to preside in Cache Valley where he served until his death. He also held various territorial posts including several terms in the legislature.

**BERRY, WILLIAM S.** (1838-84), was killed by a mob in Lewis County, Tennessee, along with fellow missionary John H. Gibbs and two local Mormons.

**BISHOP, FRANCIS M.** (1843-1933), was a Civil War veteran who following his graduation from Illinois Wesleyan University served as chief topographer on John W. Powell's Colorado River expedition. He then visited Salt Lake City intending a brief visit but was offered a position on the faculty of Morgan's Commercial College. As professor of natural science, he then taught at the University of Deseret (1873-77). Bishop later engaged in mining and entered politics holding several judicial positions.

**BLACK, JEREMIAH S.** (1810-83), of Pennsylvania was admitted to the bar in his home state in 1830 and rose to the state supreme court. In 1857 Buchanan appointed him U.S. Attorney General and later Secretary of State (1860). Black retired to Pennsylvania in 1861, where he became a

respected elder statesman espousing many causes, including fair treatment for the Mormons. Though an ardent Campbellite, Black became one of the East's most vocal spokesmen for Mormon rights.

BLAINE, JAMES G. (1830-93), was born in Pennsylvania and studied law in Philadelphia. After a brief career in journalism which took him to Maine, he entered politics as a Republican and was elected to Congress in 1863 where he became Speaker in 1869. Blaine was elected to the Senate in 1876 and served there until James Garfield appointed him Secretary of State in 1881, but resigned from the cabinet upon the president's assassination. He was then nominated for the presidency in 1884 but lost to Grover Cleveland. Returning to the State Department with the election of Benjamin Harrison in 1888, Blaine had his greatest term of public service and exerted the most influence upon American life attracting public attention to foreign policy as never before with his Pan American Union and reciprocity ideas.

BLISS, CHARLES (1859-1933), accompanied Moyle to the Southern States Mission in 1879. Following his mission, Bliss homesteaded in eastern Nevada.

BOONE, EDWARD, married Moyle's great-aunt from England, and the young man visited them in St. Louis on his way to the Southern States Mission in 1879.

BOURNE, HELEN KIMBALL WHITNEY (1862-1927), corresponded with Moyle during his mission and years at law school. She was the daughter of Horace K. Whitney and Helen Mar Kimball.

BOWEN, ALBERT E. (1875-1953), was Reuben Clark's former law partner. He became an apostle in 1937 and was known for his Republican sympathies.

BOWMAN, JOHN F. (1880-1960), a son-in-law of Joseph F. Smith, displaced Moyle as counsel in the Consolidated Wagon and Machine Company in 1914. Bowman had studied law at the University of Chicago. He served as mayor of Salt Lake City from 1928 to 1932.

BOYLE, HENRY G. (1824-1908), joined the Mormon church in Virginia in 1843. Following service on the Mormon Battalion, Boyle arrived in Utah in 1847. He served seven missions to the Southern States and was president of the mission from 1875-78.

BRAIN, CHARLES J. (1857-1933), was a well-known Utah contractor whose works included the Lafayette School. He served with Moyle in the Southern States Mission in the early 1880s.

**BROSSARD, EDGAR B.** (1889-1980), of French-Canadian extraction, served as president of the Swiss-German Mission (1912-14) and later of the New England (1959) and French (1959-62) missions. From 1925 to 1959, Brossard was U.S. Tariff Commissioner, and was among the first branch presidents in Washington and the first president of the Washington, D.C., Stake. Moyle rented an apartment from him during his second stay in the Capitol.

**BROWN, ARTHUR** (1843-1906), born in Michigan, graduated from the law school of the university of Ann Arbor in 1864. After practicing for fifteen years in Michigan, he came to Utah where he was elected to the Senate in 1896, serving a term that expired a year later. He was a delegate to the Republican conventions in 1896 and 1900 and then failed in an attempt to gain the senatorial nomination in 1901. Noted for his philanthropy, Brown was shot to death in Washington, D.C., by a former mistress.

**BROWN, D. GLENN**, was one of Moyle's missionaries in the Eastern States in the early 1930s. Brown took a leading role in the media innovations of which Moyle was so proud.

**BRYAN, WILLIAM JENNINGS** (1860-1925), studied law in his home state of Illinois and practiced there for a time before moving to Nebraska in 1887. He was elected to Congress in 1890 and then ran unsuccessfully for the Senate in 1894. Subsequently becoming a newspaper editor, Bryan joined the Chautauqua lecture circuit where he staunchly advocated the free coinage of silver. He quickly rose to prominence on the strength of his oratory and was nominated by the Democrats and the Populists for the presidency in 1896. Defeated in the election, he ran again in 1900 and 1908 also unsuccessfully. Woodrow Wilson appointed him Secretary of State in 1912, but Bryan resigned in 1915. The "Great Commoner" then retired to his law practice gaining national attention as the defender of the Bible in the Scopes (monkey) trial in Tennessee against Clarence Darrow.

**BURT, ANDREW** (1828-83), was baptized in Scotland in 1848. After his arrival in Salt Lake City in 1851, Burt became heavily involved in military affairs which led to his election as chief of police in 1862 and city marshal in 1876. He was also the bishop of the Twenty-first Ward. He was killed by a black itinerant who was immediately lynched in a shed behind City Hall.

**BURTON, HOSEA M.** (1858-1920), was one of Moyle's childhood acquaintances in the Fifteenth Ward. The remainder of his life in Salt Lake City is obscure.

BURTON, JOHN H. (1857-87), a son of Robert T. Burton, studied architecture in the East and had just established his firm in Salt Lake City when he was murdered at the age of thirty by a "whiskey man" who apparently mistook him for a detective.

BURTON, LAFAYETTE G. (1860-1934), a prominent Utah mining and railroad engineer, was construction engineer of the Utah Eastern Railroad. He also built the Salt Lake City street rail line to Fort Douglas.

BURTON, ROBERT T. (1821-1907), a Canadian who came to Utah in 1848, was active in the leadership of the territorial militia in Indian campaigns and during the Utah War. His numerous public offices included constable, deputy marshal, sheriff, assessor, collector of internal revenue, city councilman, territorial legislator, and regent of the University of Deseret. After a term as bishop of the Fifteenth Ward, he became (1884) first counselor to Presiding Bishop William B. Preston.

BUSSEL, JAMES (1805-84), known affectionately as "Daddy" in the Fifteenth Ward, was baptized in England and came to Utah in 1853. He was an herbalist who practiced folk medicine among his neighbors.

BUTLER, BENJAMIN F. (1818-93), studied law and was admitted to the Massachusetts bar in 1840. He was elected as a Democrat to the legislature in 1853 where he served until his election as general of militia at the outbreak of the Civil War. Butler's career was then meteoric. In 1862 he took New Orleans and became its military governor, but his flamboyant and controversial administration shortly forced his removal. Following the war, he was elected to Congress as a Republican and lived lavishly in Washington until his defeat for reelection in 1875. He returned to Congress in 1878 as a Greenbacker, and by 1880 was back in the Democratic Party. He tried unsuccessfully to gain the presidential nomination in 1884 then bolted the party and ran as the candidate of the Greenback Party. He garnered only a few thousand votes and died a decade later in obscurity.

BYWATER, GEORGE (1828-89), came to Utah in 1854 a convert to Mormonism from Wales. He lived in the Fifteenth Ward until 1868 when he moved to Utah County. James Moyle later purchased Bywater's home for his second family.

BYWATER, JOSEPH G. (1857-1931), a playmate of young Moyle in the Fifteenth Ward, went to work for the Utah Central Railroad at the age of fourteen and later became an engineer on the Denver and Rio Grande. He also served two terms in the legislature and was active in union affairs, the Cambrian Society, and the Masonic Order.

CAHOON, ANDREW (1824-1900), born in Ohio, came to Utah in an early migration. After marrying three wives, he left the LDS church and became known as the "apostate bishop of Murray." He had nineteen children.

CAINE, ANNIE HOOPER (1865-1946), daughter of William H. Hooper, introduced Moyle to Alice Dinwoodey. Annie later married Joseph E. Caine who was for many years secretary of the Salt Lake City chamber of commerce.

CAINE, JOHN T. (1829-1911), came from the Isle of Man and joined the LDS church in New York in 1847. In Utah he taught school and became a member of the Deseret Dramatic Association. After a mission to Hawaii, he joined Brigham Young's staff as a clerk. He also served terms as city recorder, regent of the University of Deseret, and Salt Lake Stake high councilman. His most important role in Utah history came as he served in five consecutive sessions of Congress following his election as Utah's delegate in 1883.

CALLIS, CHARLES A. (1865-1947), was baptized as a youngster in England and came to Utah in 1875. After becoming a lawyer, he served several missions for the LDS church and in 1906 became president of the Southern States Mission. He served in that capacity for twenty-eight years until his call to the apostleship in 1933.

CANNELL, MARGARET ANNA (*see* Margaret Anna Cannell Moyle)

CANNON, ABRAHAM H. (1859-96), a son of George Q. Cannon, was ordained an apostle in 1889 at the age of thirty following seven years on the First Council of Seventy. His early death was evidence to Moyle that his young calling to the Quorum of the Twelve had been the result of human folly.

CANNON, ANGUS M. (1834-1915), was president of the Salt Lake Stake from 1876 to 1904. A brother to George Q. Cannon, he came to Utah as a boy in 1849. His work apart from the LDS church consisted of farming, stockraising, and some business enterprises. As president of the Salt Lake Stake, which encompassed Salt Lake, Davis, Tooele, and three other counties, Cannon was one of the most powerful men in Utah during pre-statehood years serving also as chairman of the Peoples Party.

CANNON, FRANK J. (1859-1933), a son of George Q. Cannon, left the LDS church and became a bitter apostate. A journalist, Cannon worked on several newspapers in Utah and became a Republican while reporting for the *San Francisco Chronicle*. He settled in Ogden, editing the *Standard*, then ran for Congress in 1892, was defeated, ran again in 1894, and was elected. In January 1896 he was elected U.S. Senator as a Republican but

soon switched parties in the silver controversy. He failed in his effort for reelection in 1899. Serving for a time as Democratic state chair, Cannon later returned to journalism writing anti-Mormon polemics aimed primarily at the interference of the church leadership in politics.

CANNON, GEORGE M. (1861-1937), a son of Angus M. Cannon, spent his boyhood in the Fifteenth Ward. He later became a teacher and then entered politics with his election as Salt Lake County recorder. In 1895 he became chair of the Republican state committee and aspired in 1901 to the U.S. Senate.

CANNON, GEORGE Q. (1827-1901), joined the LDS church in England in 1840 and came to America in 1842. He became a journalist and edited at various times the *Deseret News*, *Juvenile Instructor*, *Millennial Star*, and *Western Standard*. He became an apostle in 1859, presided over the European Mission for a time, and then was appointed private secretary to Brigham Young. In the 1870s Cannon sat on the Democratic side in Congress as Utah's delegate. He became a member of the First Presidency after the death of Brigham Young and served as such until his death. Following statehood, he aspired to the U.S. Senate as a Republican against Moses Thatcher. His role as intellectual and political head of the church was evident during these last years.

CANNON, JOHN M. (1865-1917), a son of Angus M. Cannon, received his law degree from the University of Michigan in 1890. His father asked Moyle to take the young lawyer into his firm, ironic in the face of Angus's earlier denunciation of Moyle for seeking a law degree.

CANNON, JOSEPH J. (1877-1945), a son of George Q. Cannon, served as editor of the LDS *Millennial Star* for a short time after a mission to Sweden at the turn of the century. He then graduated from the University of Utah, engaged in banking and the canning business, and entered politics, being elected to the legislature in 1909 where he was active in the fight for prohibition in the state. Following a term as managing editor of the *Deseret News*, Cannon became president of the British Mission (1934-37) and then president of the Temple Square Mission of the church (1937-41).

CARLTON, AMBROSE B., from Indiana, was a member of the Utah Commission during the first Cleveland administration. With John A. McClernand he submitted to the Union a report supporting Utah's admission and praising the people of the territory and their institutions. Additional details of his life are comparatively obscure.

CARVER, THOMAS NIXON (1865-1954), received his Ph.D. from Cor-

nell in 1894. He began his career at Oberlin College as professor of economics but moved to Harvard in 1900 as professor of political economy. Between 1904 and 1948, Carver published twenty books on political economy and human relations. He also studied the Mormon socio-economic system and extolled Brigham Young's work in pioneer Utah.

CHIPMAN, JAMES (1839-1922), came to Utah with the pioneers in September 1847. He grew up in Utah County and became involved in merchandising and banking. He was Utah's first state treasurer and was involved in numerous capital investment ventures.

CLARK, JOHN (1835-1908), was born in England where his father joined the Mormon church. He arrived in Salt Lake City in 1851 and settled in the Fifteenth Ward. Following over twenty years on the Salt Lake City Council, Clark was elected mayor in 1897. He also served three terms in the legislature. Very successful in business, he was for many years assistant superintendent and treasurer of ZCMI.

CLARK, JOSHUA REUBEN, JR. (1871-1961), counselor to LDS church presidents Heber J. Grant, George Albert Smith, and David O. McKay, was a noted international lawyer and Republican State Department functionary. Following his failure to get the Republican senatorial nomination in 1928, Clark became undersecretary of state and then ambassador to Mexico under Herbert Hoover. His conservative isolationism was classic, and his hatred for the New Deal spilled over into his church service causing a resurgence in the 1930s of attempts on the part of the Mormon leadership to control Utah politics. Despite Moyle's great personal respect for Clark, the Democrat freely blamed him for the politicalism of the Grant administration.

CLAWSON, HIRAM B. (1826-1912), joined the church and moved to Nauvoo in 1841. In Utah he became Brigham Young's private secretary and managed the president's private business affairs. After various business ventures including management of the Salt Lake Theater, Clawson took over management of ZCMI. He also served for many years as bishop of the Twelfth Ward.

CLAWSON, RUDGER (1857-1943), witnessed the murder of his missionary companion, Joseph Standing, in Georgia in 1879. He also served three years in prison during the anti-polygamy crusade in the 1880s. Following service as president of the Box Elder Stake, he became an apostle in 1898. One of his wives, Alice Moyle's half-sister, divorced him causing an estrangement between him and the Moyles.

CLEVELAND, GROVER (1837-1908), born in New Jersey, grew up in

New York where he became a devoted Democrat. He studied law and was admitted to the bar in 1859. In 1881 he was elected mayor of Buffalo and in 1882 governor of the state. His image of stubborn honesty quickly made him a leading contender for the White House. Though spurning Tammany Hall, he was nominated for the U.S. presidency in Chicago in 1884 on the second ballot and was subsequently elected. He lost in a bid for reelection in 1888 but succeeded in 1892. Cleveland gained Moyle's praise as the president who signed Utah's Enabling Act in 1895.

CLIFT, FRANCIS D. (c. 1830-1914), known as "Dan," was a pioneer real estate man in Salt Lake City. At one time Clift owned large sections of the city particularly on West Temple where he built the Clift House Hotel.

COLTON, DON B. (1876-1952), succeeded Moyle as president of the Eastern States Mission in 1833 following an unsuccessful bid for Congress as a Republican in 1932. Prior to this, he had served as president of the Uintah Stake of the church.

COOLIDGE, CALVIN (1872-1933), born in Vermont, rose through Massachusetts Republican politics to the governorship in 1918. His forceful handling in that office of the portentous Boston police strike brought him the national attention that caused Warren Harding to choose him as a running mate in 1920. With the death of Harding in 1923, Coolidge became president and was subsequently elected to a full term in 1924. Following a lackluster administration, Coolidge retired in 1929 to private life in Boston.

COSTIGAN, GEORGE P. (1870-1934), graduated from Harvard University law school after which he practiced law in partnership with Moyle in Salt Lake City. He was subsequently appointed professor of law at Northwestern University, eventually becoming dean of the college of law at the University of Nebraska and then at the University of California.

COWDERY, OLIVER (1806-50), one of the three witnesses to the Book of Mormon plates, was "Second Elder" in the LDS church and associate president with Joseph Smith. After several and prolonged disagreements with Smith, Cowdery was excommunicated in 1838 but rejoined the church ten years later. Just prior to his death in 1850, he visited David Whitmer in Missouri and restated his testimony of the Book of Mormon. Whitmer recounted this event in his interview with Moyle in 1885.

COWLEY, MATTHEW (1897-1953), a son of Matthias Cowley, and having been an aide to Reed Smoot in Washington, became an apostle in 1945. He served several missions in the Pacific and was known for his

work among the Maoris of New Zealand. Cowley became a close friend to the Moyles during their last years in Utah.

COWLEY, MATTHIAS F. (1858-1950), became an apostle in 1897 but resigned in 1905 because of the church abandonment of polygamy and was disfellowshipped. Restored to full membership in 1936, Cowley served a final mission for the church just prior to his death.

COX, JAMES M. (1870-1957), was the first man ever elected governor of Ohio for three terms. Cox, publisher of a group of newspapers in Ohio, Georgia, and Florida, ran against Warren G. Harding for the U.S. presidency in 1920. His running mate was Franklin D. Roosevelt.

CREER, FRANK B. (1907-93), married Moyle's youngest daughter, Sara Virginia, in 1930. Creer, a graduate of Harvard Business School, was an executive and director of the Utah-Idaho School Supply Company in Salt Lake City in addition to various other business, civic, and religious activities.

CREER, SARA VIRGINIA MOYLE (1907-93), was Moyle's last-born child. She was educated in Salt Lake City and Washington, D.C., and graduated from the University of Utah in 1930 after which she married Frank B. Creer. She served as president of the Salt Lake Central Stake Relief Society.

CUMMINGS, HOMER S. (1870-1956), Franklin Roosevelt's first Attorney General, was responsible for the plan to enlarge the Supreme Court then regularly blocking New Deal legislation. Cummings was also strong on penal reform and was a vigorous supporter of J. Edgar Hoover and the FBI. Cummings had been a successful Connecticut attorney.

CUMMINGS, JAMES W. (1819-83), in whose home Moyle was ordained a Seventy, was baptized in Nauvoo, Illinois, in 1841 and, after several missions for the LDS church, arrived in Utah in 1851. He served in the legislature, on the Salt Lake City Council, and as county treasurer. He was known as one of the most active "home missionaries" in the valley.

CUTLER, JOHN C. (1846-1928), defeated Moyle by a comfortable margin in the 1904 gubernatorial race in Utah. Cutler was an employee of Provo Woolen Mills and later was associated with several banks and insurance companies in Salt Lake City. His only elective positions prior to the governorship were terms as county clerk and clerk of the probate court.

DANIELS, JOSEPHUS (1863-1948), U.S. Secretary of the Navy in World War I, ambassador to Mexico during the New Deal, and editor and publisher of a Raleigh, North Carolina, newspaper, was noted for his

puritanical "Sunday School" administration of the navy and for his nonsense yet friendly dealings with Mexico during the oil expropriation crises of the late 1930s. He succeeded J. Reuben Clark in the Mexico City post.

DARKE, SIDNEY W. (d. 1907), came to Utah from England in 1862. He was one of the first lawyers in Salt Lake City and at one time taught mathematics at the University of Deseret.

DAVIS, JOHN W. (1873-1955), the unsuccessful Democratic candidate against President Coolidge in 1924, was a native of West Virginia but spent the bulk of his career as a constitutional lawyer in New York City. He was elected to Congress in 1910 and was then appointed U.S. Solicitor General in 1913. In 1918 he became ambassador to Great Britain serving there until 1921. His nomination in 1924 came after 102 ballots and a prolonged fight between William G. McAdoo and Alfred E. Smith. Later a bitter opponent of Franklin Roosevelt, Davis defected to the Republican Party.

DEE, THOMAS D. (1844-1905), was born in Wales where his family became Mormons in 1856. They came to Utah in 1860 and settled in Ogden. Dee became a contractor and then engaged in the sugar business. By the turn of the century, he was director and executive of numerous business enterprises in northern Utah including the building and operation of three railroads. He served in various political offices in Ogden and also in the legislature. The Mormon hospital in Ogden was named after him in response to his generous endowments and other civic activities.

DENBY, EDWIN (1870-1929), U.S. Secretary of the Navy under Harding, approved the transfer of naval oil reserve administration to Interior Secretary Albert B. Fall. Fall then leased Wyoming and California reserves to private operators precipitating the so-called Teapot Dome Scandal. Denby was born in Indiana but entered politics in Michigan where he practiced law. He was also an executive in several Detroit motor companies.

DERN, GEORGE H. (1872-1936), was born and educated in Nebraska after which he came to Utah as a miner. He rose quickly to executive positions, and from 1915 to 1919 was general manager of the Tintic Milling Company. In 1914 he was elected to the state senate as a Democrat and served there until his election as governor in 1928. Franklin Roosevelt appointed him Secretary of War in 1933. He died in office.

DINWOODEY, ALICE EVELYN (*see* Alice Evelyn Dinwoodey Moyle)

DINWOODEY, HENRY (1825-1905), Moyle's father-in-law, was an English carpenter who became a Mormon in 1845 and sailed for America in

1849. In 1850 he opened a small dry goods store in St. Louis and remained there until 1855 when he moved to Utah. Following the Utah War, he built a shop where he made furniture from native lumber. He continued to expand and by 1890 was one of the wealthiest businessmen in Utah, serving on numerous boards of directors and in various civic positions. He traveled widely, served a term in prison for polygamy, and contributed liberally to the church and charity.

DOHENY, EDWARD L. (1856-1935), discovered one of the first oil fields in California and then expanded into Mexico where he built one of the greatest concentrated oil holdings of private capital in the world. He was indicted in 1924 for his part in the naval reserve lease scandal (Teapot Dome) but was acquitted.

DOVER, JOSEPH R. (1823-1904), joined the Mormons in England in 1847. He went to Australia in 1850 and finally to Utah in 1871 where he became chief assistant to Temple Block foreman James Moyle. He later worked on various stonecutting projects for Brigham Young and John Taylor. Assisting Willard Young, he also spent seven years building the locks at the Cascades in Oregon.

DUNBAR, DAVID C. (1858-1938), graduated from the University of Deseret in 1878 and went to work on the *Salt Lake Herald*. After a period out of Utah, he returned to Salt Lake City where he engaged in business and became active in the Democratic Party. In 1919 Woodrow Wilson appointed Dunbar collector of internal revenue. He later returned to California but kept up a close friendship with Moyle until his death.

DUNBAR, ELIZABETH (LIBBY) HOOPER, a youthful friend of Moyle, was a daughter of William H. Hooper. She subsequently married Moyle's close friend, David C. Dunbar.

DUNCANSON, MARY (1830-1911), joined the LDS church in Scotland and came to Utah in 1866 with her husband, David. They settled in the Fifteenth Ward where she became the neighborhood midwife delivering nearly all of Moyle's twenty-two brothers and sisters.

ECCLES, HENRY, of the Fifteenth Ward was foreman of stonecutters on Temple Block prior to James Moyle.

ECCLES, MARRINER S. (1890-1977), son of prominent Ogden businessman David Eccles, took over a portion of his father's business interests in 1913 and by the Great Depression had built a multimillion-dollar enterprise. Eccles was steering his diversified banking and industrial interests through the Depression with minimal losses when he thereby attracted the attention of national political leaders. He was consequently appointed

Assistant Secretary of the Treasury in 1934 and Federal Reserve Board Chairman in 1935. He remained the dominant figure in the Federal Reserve System until 1951 when he returned to private life and his ongoing business and civic interests.

ELDREDGE, ALLIE (*see* Allie Eldredge Smoot)

EVANS, DAVID (1852-1923), born in Lehi, Utah, attended the law school at the University of Michigan with Moyle in the 1880s. He was later law partner to George Sutherland and others in Utah County where he practiced law until his death.

EVANS, JOHN HENRY (1872-1947), graduated from the University of Utah in 1906 and did graduate work at the University of California after which he became head of the English department at LDS University. A subsequent employee of the church, Evans wrote several books relating to Mormons and Mormonism including biographies of Joseph Smith, Charles C. Rich, and Moyle (unfinished). His *Story of Utah* was for many years the Utah history text book used in the public schools.

FARLEY, JAMES A. (1888-1976), successful New York businessman and president of General Builders' Supply Corporation. After service on various state commissions, Farley was appointed Postmaster General by Franklin Roosevelt in 1933 and served until 1940. As such, Farley was dispenser of patronage in the New Deal. Following his return to private life, he became head of the Coca Cola Export Company.

FARR, AARON F. (1818-1907), was baptized in 1832 and reached manhood during the Missouri and Illinois persecutions. Originally part of Brigham Young's advance party in 1847, Farr was assigned to return east to meet Daniel Spencer's company. After several missions, Farr moved to Ogden where he became a judge and held other public offices. He was father-in-law of Moses Thatcher and clashed with Moyle during the election of 1899 in the legislature when he charged that Moyle had conspired for the seat without openly campaigning for it.

FAUST, H. J. (c. 1830-1904), better known as "Doc," built and operated a livery stable on Second South. The U.S. District Court was held on its second floor for several years. Faust, an old mule Skinner and mail station operator, later retired to California where he died.

FERGUSON, FERGUS (1860-1927), graduated from the University of Michigan Law School where he associated with Moyle. Upon returning to Utah, Ferguson practiced law for a time and then contracted a chronic illness which severely curtailed his activities.

FERGUSON, JEANNETTE SHARP (1861-1937), was a daughter of John Sharp, the "railroad bishop." She married Fergus Ferguson who attended the University of Michigan with Moyle. Because of the illness of her husband, she retired to California.

FOLSOM, HARRIET AMELIA (*see* Harriet Amelia Folsom Young)

FOLSOM, WILLIAM (1815-1901), one of James Moyle's business associates and a prominent architect in early Salt Lake City, was also the father of Amelia Young, plural wife of Brigham Young. He was baptized in 1840 and established himself in Nauvoo as an architect and builder. After working on the temple there and after coming to Utah, he drew up the plans for the Salt Lake Tabernacle. Folsom worked on each temple and supervised construction at Manti. He designed additionally the old Salt Lake Theater and several other important Utah structures.

FULLMER, EUGENE B. (1833-99), survived the Haun's Mill Massacre in Missouri. After his arrival in Utah, Fullmer went to work on Temple Block (1853) and worked as a stonecutter on the temple until it was finished in 1893.

GATES, THOMAS S. (1873-1948), practiced law for a time in Pennsylvania and then became an insurance executive. In 1921 he became a trustee of the University of Pennsylvania and in 1930 its president. Gates was a Republican but ardently supported Woodrow Wilson and the League of Nations. He also served in various advisory government positions during World War II.

GIBBS, GEORGE F. (1846-1924), came to Utah from Wales in 1868. He worked as a secretary in the office of the First Presidency for nearly sixty years.

GILLESPIE, PETER (1822-96), was intermittently James Moyle's partner in the contracting business. He joined the LDS church in Scotland in 1842 and arrived in Utah in 1853. In 1857 Brigham Young called him to work on the Salt Lake temple. It was during lulls in this service that he and the elder Moyle cut stone for the Union Pacific Railroad and built several buildings in Salt Lake City.

GLASS, CARTER (1858-1946), known as father of the Federal Reserve System and dean of the Senate, served continually in the Congress from 1902 until his death with the exception of a few months as Woodrow Wilson's Secretary of the Treasury. From Virginia, he served as chair of the House Banking Committee and in the Senate as chair of the Appropriations Committee.

GORGAS, WILLIAM C. (1854-1920), born in Alabama, received his M.D. at Bellevue Medical College in New York in 1879 whereupon he was appointed to the Army Medical Corps. He subsequently gained national repute as a sanitarian during the yellow fever campaigns in Cuba and Panama around the turn of the century. With the outbreak of World War I, Gorgas became head of the Army Medical Service where he worked closely with Moyle who had charge of the Public Health Service. Gorgas was famous as "The man who made the Panama Canal possible" through his tireless work in combatting tropical diseases.

GRANT, GEORGE D. (1808-76), brother of Jedediah M. Grant, was one of the original Utah pioneers and an early settler in the Bountiful area of Davis County.

GRANT, HEBER J. (1856-1945), was seventh president of the LDS church. An early success in business, he became president of the Tooele Stake at the age of twenty-four and an apostle in 1882. As church president, Grant emphasized financial growth and the Word of Wisdom. Though he called himself a Democrat, he rankled Moyle by openly attacking Franklin D. Roosevelt and the New Deal.

GRANT, JEDEDIAH M. (1816-56), apostle and father of Heber J. Grant, never served in the Quorum of the Twelve though he was counselor for two years to Brigham Young. After service in Zion's Camp and several lengthy missions, two of them to North Carolina and Virginia, he came to Utah at the head of a company in 1847. At the time of his father's death, Heber was only nine days old.

GRIGGS, THOMAS C. (1845-1903), educator and musician, joined the LDS church in England in 1856 and emigrated the same year but did not come to Utah until 1861. He studied music under B. B. Messenger and George Careless and subsequently became a member of the Deseret Sunday School Union General Board and superintendent of Sunday schools in the Salt Lake Stake.

HAGUE, FRANK (1874-1956), the perennial "boss" of New Jersey Democratic politics and thirty-year mayor of Jersey City, was called the last of the old-time party bosses. Though at one time Hague controlled completely the New Jersey party and had built a \$2-million fortune from his activities, his power dwindled rapidly during his last years. His motto was simply "I am the Law."

HAINES, HARRY, taught school in the Fifteenth Ward, and, according to Moyle, moved to Murray where he became a well-known saloon keeper. Additional details of Haines's life are obscure.

HAMPTON, BENJAMIN (1837-1917), came to Utah with the Monon immigration of 1853. After a mission, he engaged in the mining and smelting business. He then ran a mail station on the Bear River until in association with William Godbe he became wealthy mining silver and gold in Utah and Nevada.

HARDING, WARREN G. (1865-1923), was an Ohio journalist and businessman when he entered Republican politics in 1898 with his election to the state legislature. He was elected to the U.S. Senate in 1914 as a tool of the state party machine. As a Senator, Harding maintained a cultivated reputation as a safe conservative and charmed his way into the Republican presidential nomination in 1920. Personally attractive and taking advantage of public reaction to Wilsonian progressivism, Harding was elected handily calling for a "return to normalcy." His administration was extremely pro-business and dull until the exposure of the Teapot Dome Scandal, most of which came forth after his merciful death in office.

HARDING, WILLIAM P.G. (1864-1930), a prominent Alabama banker, became a member of the Federal Reserve Board in 1914 and its governor in 1916. He served until 1922 and chalked up an admirable record particularly as an efficient organizer. In 1923 he became governor of the Federal Reserve Bank of Boston and died in that office.

HARKER, BENJAMIN (1852-84), served in the Southern States Mission with Moyle. He fell ill and returned to Utah early, but he never recovered.

HARRIS, FISHER S. (1865-1909), born in Virginia, came to Utah while working for the railroad and afterwards became secretary of the Commercial Club. He was an avid promoter of Utah tourism and was known throughout the West for his oratorical abilities.

HARRIS, MARTIN (1783-1875), was a prosperous New York farmer in 1827 when he met Joseph Smith. He served for a time as scribe for Smith and underwrote publication of the Book of Mormon. In the summer of 1829, he became one of the "three witnesses" to the Book of Mormon when he saw the golden plates in the hands of an angel. He remained high in the councils of the church until 1838 when Smith and his followers removed completely from Ohio to Missouri. Harris stayed behind but finally joined the Saints in Utah in 1870 where he died at Clarkston, Cache County. Moyle heard him preach in the Tabernacle shortly after his arrival in Salt Lake City.

HASLAM, JOHN R. (1828-99), was baptized in England and came to Utah in 1853 where he worked for Brigham Young's family until the colonizer's

death in 1877. During this period, he also served as clerk of the general tithing office.

HAYES, RUTHERFORD B. (1882-93), was admitted to the Ohio bar in 1845 after attending Harvard Law School. He entered politics in Cincinnati in 1851 where he became an early Republican. He rose to the rank of major general during the Civil War before his election to Congress in 1864 serving there until elected governor of Ohio in 1867. Hayes governed astutely and was elevated to the U.S. presidency in 1877 after the famous "compromise" in the House elected him over popular vote winner Samuel Tilden. Though he was conscientious and hard-working, his one term was unspectacular.

HENDERSON, WILLIAM, referred to as "judge" and gentile in Moyle's memoirs, was not a prominent figure in Utah history despite Moyle's praise of his abilities among notable Democrats. It is possible, however, that he was referring to Dr. William W. Henderson, a highly respected Utah educator and ardent Democrat, but Dr. Henderson (1879-1944) was a devoted Mormon.

HERRICK, JOHN L. (1868-1960), was appointed guide and receptionist at the Church Administration Building in 1936 and was also bishop of the Twelfth-Thirteenth Ward. He had served as president of the Western States Mission (1908-19) and as a banker and insurance man in Ogden.

HICKMAN, WILLIAM (1815-83), famous Utah outlaw and alleged chief Danite and destroying angel for Brigham Young, gained national attention because of his role as avenger against troublesome gentiles and apostate Mormons. In reality, he was little more than a cattle rustler and a horse thief. He died ingloriously in Lander, Wyoming, of "diarrhoea."

HISLOP, JOHN (1855-1904), an English stonemason, worked with Moyle on the Union Pacific Railroad in the 1870s. He subsequently raised a large family in Huntsville, Utah.

HOOPER, ANNIE (*see* Annie Hooper Caine)

HOOPER, ELIZABETH (LIBBY) (*see* Elizabeth [Libby] Hooper Dunbar)

HOOPER, HARRIET (HATTIE) (*see* Harriet [Hattie] Hooper Young)

HOOPER, MARY (*see* Mary Hooper Jennings)

HOOPER, WILLIAM H. (1813-82), a former merchant and Mississippi steamboat captain, represented Utah in four sessions of Congress beginning in 1859. He was a prominent banker and president of ZCMI. As a

youth, Moyle was a common visitor in his home and enjoyed the close friendship of his daughters.

HOOVER, HERBERT (1874-1964), born in Iowa, moved west where he graduated from Stanford University (1895) as a mining engineer. After engaging in mining operations all over the world, he served as chair of several American relief commissions during World War I which brought his appointment as U.S. Secretary of Commerce by Warren Harding in 1921. Maintaining his statesman's image, he easily won the 1928 Republican nomination for president and the election in November. The onslaught of the Great Depression unfortunately mangled his administration and he was defeated for reelection by Franklin Roosevelt in 1932. He subsequently served on numerous public commissions, the most notable of which were the famous "Hoover Commissions" on government organization (1947-49, 1953-55).

HOUSTON, D. F. (1866-1940), New York businessman and life insurance executive, served as Woodrow Wilson's Secretary of Agriculture for a few months in 1920 and 1921 and Secretary of the Treasury.

HOWELL, JOSEPH (1856-1918), was born in Brigham City, Utah. Following service in the legislature, he was elected as a Republican to Congress in 1902 and served eight consecutive terms.

HOWELLS, THOMAS F. (1854-1918), was raised in the Fifteenth Ward. He graduated from the University of Deseret in 1876 and, following a mission to Great Britain, taught in the ward schools in Salt Lake City and later in Sugar House and Escalante.

HULL, CORDELL (1872-1955), served for nearly twelve years as Franklin Roosevelt's Secretary of State. A Tennessee lawyer, Hull was for many years in the House and the Senate before his appointment as head of the State Department where he subsequently drafted the Roosevelt reciprocal trade program, took a key role in laying the groundwork for the United Nations, and won the Nobel Peace Prize.

HUNN, THOMAS, was listed by Moyle as president of the Mutual Improvement Association when it was first organized in the Fifteenth Ward. Details of Hunn's life are obscure.

HUTCHINSON, W. R. (c. 1855-1934), received his law degree at the University of Michigan where he was a classmate of Moyle. He came to Utah in 1894 and became active in Republican politics.

HYDE, ORSON (1805-78), was a Campbellite pastor who converted to Mormonism in 1830. He became one of the first apostles of the LDS

church in 1835 and traveled extensively as a missionary. Dropped from the quorum for a time in 1839, Hyde lost the seniority which would ultimately have made him head of the church in place of John Taylor. He spent most of his Utah years in Sanpete County and was known for his forceful oratory.

IVERSON, GUSTAVE A. (1874-1945), came to Utah from Norway as a child and settled with his family in Ephraim. After a mission to Norway, he received a law degree at the University of Michigan and entered practice at Price. From there he entered the state legislature and also served as president of the Carbon Stake. In 1929 he became an assistant attorney general of the United States, and at the time of his death was serving as president of the Eastern States Mission.

IVINS, ANTHONY W. (1852-1934), counselor to Heber J. Grant, settled in St. George. After missions to Native Americans and to Mexico, he became an apostle in 1907 and served as such until Grant, his cousin, appointed him to the First Presidency in 1921. Ivins was a devout Democrat, and Moyle ascribed to him the apolitical nature of Grant's regime prior to 1933 and the advent of Reuben Clark into the leading councils of the church.

IVINS, H. GRANT (b.1889), a son of Anthony W. Ivins, was appointed second counselor in the Cottonwood Stake presidency after filling a five-year mission to Japan. He later became a professor at Brigham Young University.

JACK, JAMES (1829-1911), from Scotland, was a clerk in the church president's office for many years who gained Moyle's notice because of his drinking habit.

JENNINGS, MARY HOOPER (1859-1913), the eldest daughter of William H. Hooper, married Thomas W. Jennings, son of William Jennings, uniting two of the highest families in the nineteenth-century Salt Lake City social strata.

JENNINGS, WILLIAM (1823-86), was baptized a Latter-day Saint in 1852 after coming to Salt Lake City from England and marrying a Mormon woman. Becoming one of the West's most successful businessmen, Jennings built a mercantile operation which eventually amounted to \$2 million annually. He also served a term as mayor of Salt Lake City (1882-85) and assisted in organizing the Utah Central and Utah Southern railroads and in founding the Deseret National Bank and ZCMI. His daughters often entertained young Moyle.

JOHNSON, ELMER W. (1854-1936), grew up in the Fifteenth Ward and

later served in the Southern States Mission with Moyle. A rancher, he moved to Mexico in 1887 and remained there until the expulsion of Mormons in 1912.

JOHNSON, FRED W., was a Rock Springs, Wyoming, Democrat who managed Al Smith's campaign of 1928 in the West. He made his headquarters in Salt Lake City.

JONES, FRED, was a youthful companion of Moyle. A son of a "more important" family, he joined Moyle in sowing some wild oats.

JONES, NATHANIEL V. (1850-1921), born in Salt Lake City, studied law in the office of Arthur Brown following a mission in the 1870s. He was admitted to the bar in 1893 and practiced law in Salt Lake City until his death. Jones was known for his fiery temper and ready fists.

JONES, RICEY, was the Box Elder County attorney who accompanied Moyle on his reform school tour in 1888.

KEARNS, THOMAS (1862-1918), was born in Upper Canada of Irish Catholic parentage, grew up in Nebraska, and came to Utah in 1883. With David Keith, he struck rich silver ore in the Mayflower Mine at Park City in 1890 after which the Silver King Mining Company was organized. Thus acquiring wealth, Kearns entered politics and was elected to the U.S. Senate as a Republican in 1901 serving until 1905. He then traveled extensively and interviewed Pope Leo XIII in the Vatican. He had purchased the *Salt Lake Tribune* in 1901 and published it until his death. He was also instrumental in the bolt of anti-Smoot Republicans in 1904 and the subsequent formation of the American Party in Utah.

KELLY, JOHN (1821-86), entered New York politics in 1854 and went to Congress as a Democrat in 1855. He then became sheriff of New York County and entered Tammany Hall as a protege of Isaac V. Fowler. Having amassed a tidy fortune from his activities, Kelly reorganized Tammany in 1871 and for thirteen years afterwards was considered its autocrat. Failing in his fight against the nomination of Grover Cleveland for the presidency in 1884, his health and power faded rapidly.

KENNER, SCIPIO AFRICANUS (c. 1850-1913), was admitted to the Utah bar in 1877 after an apprenticeship under Judge J. G. Sutherland. Although he served at various times as city and county attorney, Kenner was principally a journalist writing for and editing several Utah newspapers.

KIMBALL, HEBER C. (1801-68), born in Vermont, joined the Mormons in 1832. A member of Zion's Camp and one of the first missionaries to England, Kimball was called to the Quorum of the Twelve in 1835 as one

of its original members. He was first counselor to Brigham Young from 1848 until his death in 1868. Moyle attended his funeral in the Tabernacle.

KIMBALL, J. GOLDEN (1853-1938), a son of Heber C. Kimball, was appointed to the First Council of Seventy in 1892. Tall, lanky, and full of folk humor, Kimball became something of a legend in Utah as he preached his own brand of Mormonism in his high-pitched voice.

KING, WILLIAM H. (1864-1949), was elected to the U.S. Senate in 1916 defeating George Sutherland. King received his law degree from the University of Michigan in 1887 and practiced in Fillmore and Provo. Following service in the legislature and as a district judge, he was elected to Congress for one term in 1897 and then filled the vacant B. H. Roberts seat from 1900-1901 but was defeated for reelection. In the Senate, King was noted for his conservatism and his frank opinions. He retired in 1934.

KINGSBURY, JOSEPH T. (1853-1937), joined the faculty of the University of Deseret in 1877. A noted chemist, Kingsbury served as acting president of the institution (1892-94) and became president in 1897 serving until 1915. He received his Ph.D. at Illinois Wesleyan University in 1894 and did extensive work investigating the mineral-producing possibilities of the Great Salt Lake. Following his presidency, he continued his research and teaching until his death.

KNIGHT, JOHN M. (1871-1947), served as second counselor to Richard W. Young in the Ensign Stake presidency (1904-19). He was also a founder of a pioneer automobile dealership in Salt Lake City which he developed from his father's carriage and wagon company. He became president of the Western States Mission in 1919 and served until 1928 when he became president of the Ensign Stake. Knight served at various times in the State Senate and on the Salt Lake City Commission.

LANDON, ALFRED M. (1887-1988), born in Pennsylvania, graduated LL.D. from Kansas University in 1908. He subsequently became an independent oil operator, the success of which propelled him into the governorship of Kansas in 1932. After two terms he ran for U.S. president on the Republican ticket in 1936 with the endorsement of the *Deseret News*, J. Reuben Clark, and Heber J. Grant.

LANEY, HIRAMS S. (1859-1932), attended the University of Michigan Law School with Moyle in the 1880s. He practiced law in Salt Lake City until 1890 when he became police court judge under the newly elected Liberal Party administration; Laney then practiced law in Nevada and finally retired to Las Vegas.

LAWRENCE, HENRY W. (1835-1924), joined the LDS church in Canada

and came to Utah in 1852. A successful businessman, Lawrence entered politics. He was elected to the Salt Lake City Council in 1868 and became a prominent member of the Liberal Party. He was subsequently a member of the first Salt Lake City commission from 1911 to 1915.

LEE, JOHN D. (1812-77), longtime stalwart in the Mormon church, took a prominent part in the murder of several Arkansas emigrants at Mountain Meadows in southern Utah in 1857. Lee was subsequently excommunicated from the church and was then tried and executed for the famous massacre. His role in the tragedy notwithstanding, Lee was undoubtedly a scapegoat being the only person among the many involved who was executed for the crime.

LINDSAY, BRIGHAM (1877-1957), Henry Lindsay's youngest son, came to Utah with the family where he lived in Salt Lake City until his death.

LINDSAY, CORA (*see* Cora Lindsay Ashton)

LINDSAY, HENRY P. (1824-1902), was a Civil War veteran and member of the church that Moyle sought out along the Catawba River in North Carolina in 1880. He later came to Utah where he died in Salt Lake City.

LINDSAY, MILLARD, was Henry P. Lindsay's eldest son and Moyle's first convert in North Carolina. He never came to Utah.

LLOYD, JOHN (1856-1919), was a boyhood acquaintance of Moyle. Details of his subsequent life in Salt Lake City are obscure.

LODGE, HENRY CABOT (1850-1924), graduated from Harvard Law School in 1874 and was admitted to the Boston bar in 1875, but he never practiced, becoming instead editor of the *North American Review*. He received a Ph.D. in 1876 in political science and wrote prolifically. His numerous scholarly works, however, were increasingly tainted with partisanship as time went on and he eventually devoted his full efforts to politics, being elected to Congress in 1886 and to the Senate in 1893 where he served until his death. Basically a conservative isolationist, he led the fight in the Senate against ratification of the Treaty of Versailles with its League of Nations. To Moyle and other Wilson followers, this sealed him to eternal damnation.

LUND, ANTHON H. (1844-1921), apostle and counselor to Joseph F. Smith, was born in Denmark and joined the Mormons in Norway in 1857. Lund arrived in Utah at the age of eighteen, served several missionary terms in Scandinavia, and became an apostle in 1889. Active as well in business and civic affairs, he served several terms in the Utah legislature.

LUND, CANNON, was Heber J. Grant's chauffeur during the last years of the president's life.

LYMAN, AMASA M. (1813-77), became an apostle in 1842. He later associated with the Godbeite movement and preached unorthodox doctrine on the Atonement. Subsequently dropped from the Quorum of the Twelve (1867), Lyman was excommunicated from the church in May 1870.

LYMAN, FRANCIS M. (1840-1916), was born in Illinois but moved with his family to California in 1851. Following a mission, he settled in Utah and became an apostle in 1880. Lyman was one of the "gumshoers" whom Moyle accused of using church position to build up the Republican Party in Utah in the 1890s.

LYMAN, RICHARD R. (1870-1963), a son of Francis M. Lyman, taught engineering at the University of Utah prior to obtaining his doctorate in the field at Cornell in 1905. He distinguished himself as an engineer of national repute and as a professor at the University of Utah until he became an apostle in 1918. In 1943 Lyman was excommunicated from the church for adultery but was rebaptized in 1954.

McADOO, WILLIAM G. (1864-1941), born in Georgia, studied law at the University of Tennessee. He later moved to California and became involved in finance. Woodrow Wilson appointed him Secretary of the Treasury in 1913 in which capacity he also ran the nation's railroads during World War I. Moyle's service as McAdoo's first assistant brought them into a close friendship which lasted through the former Secretary's two unsuccessful bids for the Democratic presidential nomination (1924 and 1928). He also served in the U.S. Senate (1922-38).

McALLISTER, G. STANLEY (1900-70), was born in Utah but moved to New York City where he became prominent in business and civic affairs. He served in numerous church positions in the East including the presidency of the New York Stake. At the time of his death he was a director of the Bonneville International Corporation, a holding company for the LDS church, and had played a key role in Mormon business operations on the east coast.

McCLERNAND, JOHN A. (1812-1900), a member of the Utah Commission under President Cleveland, was admitted to the Illinois bar in 1832 and entered politics as a Democrat. After serving in Congress (1843-61), he accepted a commission in the Union Army as brigadier general and served with unblemished distinction until illness forced him to resign in 1864. He later was circuit judge in Illinois and was Democratic national chairman in 1876. His favorable report on the Mormons while a member

of the Utah Commission helped to dispel some of the false concepts about the territory which prevailed nationally.

McCUNE, A. W. (1849-1927), was born in India, the son of a British soldier. After his family's conversion to Mormonism, McCune came to Utah in 1857 and grew up in Nephi. He early engaged in railroad building and then mining, and by 1888 had earned fortune enough to move to Salt Lake City where he dabbled in business, publishing, and ultimately politics. Though the leader in the balloting, he was unable to achieve a majority in the deadlocked senatorial election of 1899. He died while traveling in France.

McCUNE, GEORGE W. (1873-1963), served as president of the Eastern States Mission of the LDS church from 1919 to 1922 where he worked closely with Moyle to establish a branch in Washington, D.C. Moyle appreciated his Democratic sympathies and willingness to ignore the presence of Reed Smoot in Washington while making policy for the mission.

McKAY, DAVID O. (1873-1970), became an apostle in 1906 and ninth president of the LDS church in 1951. Born in Huntsville, Utah, McKay served a mission to Great Britain in the 1890s following his graduation from the University of Utah. His career in education was cut short when he joined the Quorum of the Twelve at the age of thirty-two. Moyle regarded him as the spiritual head of the church during Grant's last years while J. Reuben Clark led in politics and temporal issues.

McKEAN, JAMES B. (1821-79), was a New York lawyer and former member of Congress who was appointed chief justice of Utah Territory in 1870. McKean attacked Mormonism with a "judicial crusade" that eventually resulted in his removal in 1875 for "fanatical and extreme conduct." He subsequently practiced law in Salt Lake City until his death.

McKENZIE, DAVID (1833-1912), a Scottish convert, became private secretary to Brigham Young and subsequently chief clerk in the president's office and bookkeeper for the Trustee-in-Trust and the Presiding Bishop. Moyle remembered his "typically Scotch" need for alcoholic refreshment.

McLEAN ANGUS W. (1870-1935), after receiving a law degree from the University of North Carolina, entered the banking business and was soon president and director of numerous banking and textile industries in North Carolina. He also became active in Democratic politics serving on the national committee (1916-24) and as governor of the state (1925-28).

He also served in the U.S. Treasury Department during the Wilson administration and as director of the War Finance Corporation (1918-21).

MARGETTS, PHILLIP (1829-1914), an English convert to Mormonism, came to Utah in 1850. He was a member of the company that presented the first play in the Salt Lake Theater in 1862 and remained prominent in Utah drama for several decades. He had served an LDS mission in the 1850s and his saloon-operating days were forgotten at the time of his death when he was eulogized as a "faithful high priest."

MARGETTS, WILLIAM (1865-1945), a popular actor and comedian in Salt Lake City in the 1880s and 1890s, operated a brewery north of Union Square. He later moved to California and died there.

MAUGHAN, FRANCIS (*see* Francis Maughan Vernon)

MAW, HERBERT B. (1893-1990), governor of Utah from 1941 to 1949, defeated Henry D. Moyle in the Democratic primary of 1940. From 1929 to 1940, Maw was active in Democratic politics as state senator, president of the senate, and as a leader of the liberal wing of the Utah party. Prior to his election to the senate, he practiced law and was professor of speech and dean of men at the University of Utah. He also served as a chaplain with the 89th Division during World War I.

MELLON, ANDREW W. (1854-1937), served for eleven years (1921-32) as Secretary of the Treasury. Born in Pennsylvania, he entered his father's banking firm at the age of twenty. In 1902 he formed with his brother the Mellon National Bank which became one of the nation's most important financial institutions. At one time some believed Mellon to be involved in enterprises worth more than \$8 billion. He also served for a time in the 1930s as Ambassador to Japan.

MERRILL, JOSEPH F. (1868-1952), was a scientist with degrees from the University of Michigan and Johns Hopkins. Following a term as LDS church Commissioner of Education, he became an apostle in 1931. Though he was known as a Democrat, he shocked Moyle in the 1930s with his open attacks on Roosevelt and the New Deal.

MINER, AURELIUS (1832-1913), came to Utah to practice law in 1854. He became a Mormon a year later and subsequently served two LDS missions to Europe. Miner held numerous public offices in Salt Lake County including magistrate and prosecuting attorney.

MONSON, JOSEPH (1862-1932), born in Logan, was a prominent Utah architect and builder. Following an LDS mission to Norway and a term as

supervising architect for Utah schools, Monson was elected as a Democrat to the legislature ultimately serving in both houses.

MONSON, WALTER P. (1875-1935), was president of the Eastern States Mission of the LDS church during much of Moyle's first stay in Washington. After a mission to the Northwest, he was called as president of the Eastern States in 1913. Returning to Utah in 1919, he engaged in the lumber business and in 1934 became chief building inspector of Salt Lake City.

MORGAN, JOHN (1842-94), came to Utah as a school teacher in 1866 and was baptized in 1867. He was called to the Southern States Mission in 1875 and in 1878 became its president serving many years. He was appointed a member of the First Council of the Seventy in 1884.

MORGENTHAU, HENRY J., JR. (1891-1967), was educated at Cornell and served as Governor Franklin Roosevelt's conservation commissioner and chair of his agricultural advisory commission. With Roosevelt's election as president, Morgenthau became Undersecretary of the Treasury and then Secretary upon the resignation of William Woodin in 1934. He served until 1945 and retired to his dairy farm in New York.

MORLEY, SYLVANUS G. (1883-1948), born in Pennsylvania and reared in Colorado, did extensive graduate work at Harvard in archeology and became research associate at the Carnegie Institute. He led numerous expeditions into Mexico and published extensively particularly on the Mayan Culture.

MORRIS, ELIAS (1825-98), was born in Wales where he joined the church in 1849. He emigrated to Utah in 1852 and within a short time had become one of the leading building contractors in the territory. He became bishop of the Fifteenth Ward in Salt Lake City in 1890 and subsequently served as a member of the constitutional convention of 1895.

MORRIS, NEPHI L. (1870-1943), served in the legislature in the 1890s following a mission to England. He became president of the Salt Lake Stake in 1904 and served as such for twenty-five years. A life-long Republican, Morris nevertheless ran for governor on the Progressive ticket in 1912. His business and civic successes were numerous.

MORRISON, FRANK (1859-1950), born in Ontario, attended law school at Wake Forest and the University of Chicago and entered the field of labor relations. In 1897 he became secretary of the American Federation of Labor serving until 1939.

MORROW, DWIGHT W. (1873-1931), received a law degree from Co-

lumbia University in 1899. He became a partner in the J.P. Morgan house in 1914 where he specialized in international loans and continued there until Calvin Coolidge appointed him Ambassador to Mexico in 1927. His conciliatory work there brought him into the national limelight and he consequently resigned in 1930 to run successfully for the U.S. Senate in New Jersey. J. Reuben Clark succeeded him in Mexico City.

MORTON, "WHISKEY," was a saloon keeper in Salt Lake City. His identity beyond his nickname is not apparent.

MOYLE, ALICE EVELYN DINWOODEY (1865-1950), was the daughter of Henry Dinwoodey and his third wife, Sarah Kinnersley. Moyle met her in the winter of 1886-87 and married her on 17 November 1887. Educated at the University of Deseret, she planned a career in drama and continued her interest in the theater and painting throughout her life. During the early 1930s, she represented the Women's Relief Society on the National Women's Council. She bore Moyle eight children, six of whom survived to adulthood.

MOYLE, ALICE EVELYN (*see* Alice Evelyn Moyle Nelson)

MOYLE, ELIZABETH WOOD (1839-1908), the first wife of James Moyle and the mother of James H. Moyle, came to Utah in 1858 with her family. Her father, Daniel Wood, settled in Davis County and founded what is presently known as Woods Cross. She bore fourteen children, six of whom survived to adulthood.

MOYLE, GILBERT D. (1898-1961), was the fourth son and fifth child born to the Moyles. He served an LDS mission to the Eastern states prior to World War I and then attended Wharton School of Finance at the University of Pennsylvania. Returning to the West, he became involved in the oil business and eventually managed an oil company in Idaho and directed with his brothers the Wasatch Oil Refining Company in Utah.

MOYLE, HENRY (1844-1925), of Alpine, Utah, was the brother of James Moyle. Born in England, he came to Utah in 1856 in the first handcart company. The family first settled in Salt Lake City but later moved to what was then called Mountainville in Utah County. Following a mission to Great Britain in the 1890s, Moyle became patriarch of the Alpine Stake.

MOYLE, HENRY D. (1889-1963), the eldest son of James H. and Alice Dinwoodey Moyle, received degrees in engineering and geology, and law degrees from the University of Chicago and Harvard. Following a mission and service in World War I, he practiced law in Salt Lake City and taught equity law at the University of Utah. During this period, he engaged successfully in numerous business activities and was called as president of

the Cottonwood Stake (1927) and chairman of the Church Welfare Committee (1937). In 1947 he became an apostle and then a member of the First Presidency in 1959.

MOYLE, JAMES (1835-90), was the father of James H. Moyle. He was baptized in England in 1852 and emigrated in 1854 whereupon he went to work on the Lion House and then Temple Block as a stonemason. After his marriage to Elizabeth Wood in 1856, he began a career as a contractor. In 1875 and after intermittent periods of service on Temple Block, Brigham Young called him to superintend construction of the temple. Having taken a second wife in 1870, Moyle went to prison in 1886 for unlawful cohabitation. His relatively young death and his failure to achieve much notice because of his humble beginnings inspired his eldest son, James Henry, to do much of the historical work that culminated in the preparation of his memoirs.

MOYLE, JAMES D. (1901-83), the Moyles' fifth son and sixth child, attended school in Utah and Washington, D.C., and graduated from the University of Utah. Following a mission to England in the 1920s, he became with his brothers a director of the Wasatch Oil Refining Company and its sales manager. Operating several retail and wholesale outlets in Utah and Idaho for gasoline and butane, he was an early business success and participated in numerous civic and church projects.

MOYLE, JAMES HUBERT (1891-94), the Moyles' second son, died suddenly at the age of three.

MOYLE, JOHN ROWE (1808-89), the grandfather of James H. Moyle, joined the LDS church in England in 1851 and came to Utah in 1856 with the first handcart company. After a brief stay in Salt Lake City, he moved his family to Mountainville (now Alpine) in Utah County. He was a stonecutter by trade, worked with his son James on Temple Block, and gained some renown by building near his home a stone tower for Indian defense.

MOYLE, JOSEPH E. (1857-1938), was Moyle's paternal uncle. Nearly the same age, the two were extremely close in childhood and hunted together around Alpine, Utah. He inherited the family home in Alpine and lived there with his wife until his death.

MOYLE, MARGARET ANNA CANNELL (1843-1920), became James Moyle's second wife in 1870. Known to James H. as "Aunt Maggie," she bore nine children, six of whom survived to adulthood.

MOYLE, RICHARD G. (1903-1905), the Moyles' sixth son and seventh child, died in infancy.

MOYLE, SARA VIRGINIA (*see* Sara Virginia Moyle Creer)

MOYLE, STEPHEN L. (1869-1945), was James H. Moyle's younger brother. He was founder of the Surety Abstract Company and a member of the Salt Lake board of appraisers.

MOYLE, WALTER G. (1895-1970), the third son and fourth child of the Moyles, graduated from the University of Utah and then received a law degree from the University of Chicago. He also attended Harvard and served in World War I. Following service on the staff of the attorney general, he set up practice in Washington, D.C., working principally as a tax lawyer.

NEBEKER, AQUILA (1859-1933), was born in Salt Lake City. After attending the University of Deseret, Nebeker joined E. A. Wall in the mining business but shortly afterwards became a rancher, moving to Laketown. In 1892 he was elected to the legislature and subsequently served in the constitutional convention. Nebeker vied unsuccessfully with Moyle for the Democratic nomination for governor in 1900 and later served a colorful term as U.S. Marshal in San Juan County, Utah.

NELSON, ALICE EVELYN MOYLE (1893-1979), the first daughter and third child born to the Moyles, was educated in Utah, Washington, D.C., and New York. She received advance degrees in psychology and social work and served on the staffs of the personnel division of Macy and Company, the New York Mental Hospital, and the New York City Crime Prevention Bureau. She married Harry Nelson in 1930 and lived in Chicago for a time before finally settling in Salt Lake City on the family estate at Cottonwood.

NELSON, HARRY (1901-88), was an accomplished actor when he met and married Moyle's daughter, Evelyn, in New York. He subsequently worked in the Macy organization and held executive positions with Montgomery Ward in Chicago and ZCMI in Salt Lake City.

NIBLEY, CHARLES W. (1849-1931), presiding bishop and later counselor to Heber J. Grant, was a Cache Valley businessman prior to his ecclesiastical calling. Nibley revised the tithing system and traveled extensively as a general authority. He was also a close ally to Reed Smoot.

ODELL, GEORGE T. (1848-1931), born in England, came to Utah with his Mormon parents in 1861. In the 1880s, in partnership with Heber J. Grant, he established an implement and vehicle business which ultimately became the Consolidated Wagon and Machine Company of which Odell became general manager. In 1919 he became president of the firm

succeeding Joseph F. Smith. Moyle was a director and general counsel to the company for many years and a close friend of Odell.

O'LAUGHLIN, JOHN CALLAN (1873-1954), was a noted Washington newspaper correspondent who was also active in Progressive and Republican party politics. A close associate of Theodore Roosevelt, O'Laughlin wrote several books and articles in praise of Roosevelt and his brand of Republicanism. He thought little of Reed Smoot.

ORMSBY, OLIVER C. (1844-1916), migrated with his parents from Pennsylvania to California in 1852. He came to Salt Lake City in 1861 as a miner and eventually opened drug stores in Manti and Brigham City. After subsequently obtaining his M.D. degree from Rush College in Chicago, Ormsby practiced medicine in northern Utah, eventually settled in Logan, and then moved to Rexburg, Idaho, where he lived until his death.

OVERFIELD, CHAUNCEY P. (1872-1958), was an aide to Charles Evans Hughes in New York before 1896 when he moved to Utah for his health. In Salt Lake City, he associated with the Rio Grande Western Railway and became active in Democratic politics serving in several party posts. With the presidential candidacy of Hughes in 1916, however, Overfield switched parties, became chair of the state Republican Party, and in 1930 was its candidate for the Senate. He was also successful in numerous business ventures and held high lay positions in the Episcopal church.

PARK, HAMILTON G. (1826-1912), was baptized in Scotland in 1840 and immigrated to Utah where he became business manager for Brigham Young. He later served several missions to Great Britain and worked at ZCMI. He gained notice while serving as a member of the Salt Lake Stake presidency when he sold his land in the Thirteenth Ward to non-Mormons for the construction of a hotel.

PARK, JOHN R. (1833-1900), came to Utah in 1861 to teach school. After serving as president of Deseret University for twenty-five years, he became the first superintendent of public instruction in the State of Utah. Park worked closely with Moyle prior to his mission and in 1882 to get him into the University of Michigan.

PARK, WILLIAM, was a North Carolina farmer whom Moyle baptized into the church. He later moved with his family to Rigby, Idaho.

PARKER, ALTON B. (1852-1926), practiced law in New York and eventually rose in the state court system to its highest seats. He was nominated for the U.S. presidency in 1904 as a Democrat but was defeated handily

in the election by Theodore Roosevelt. He subsequently practiced law in New York City until his death.

PARRY, JOHN (1817-82), was baptized in Wales in 1846 and came to Utah in 1856. He worked intermittently in partnership with James Moyle as a stonemason until 1877 when he was called to superintend the construction of the Logan temple. He also served a mission to Great Britain (1865-69).

PENROSE, CHARLES W. (1832-1925), counselor to Joseph F. Smith and Heber J. Grant, joined the LDS church in England and came to Utah in 1861. Between missionary terms, Penrose taught school and ultimately became the editor of the *Deseret News*. He became an apostle in 1904 and a member of the First Presidency in 1911.

PIERSON, CHARLES, was a school teacher hired by Daniel Wood to tutor his children. Pierson taught Moyle's mother to read and write. He later practiced law, but additional details of his life are obscure.

PIKE, WALTER R. (1848-1921), came to Utah from England about 1860 where he began to study medicine. He eventually graduated from the Burlington Medical College in Vermont and then opened a practice in Salt Lake City but moved shortly afterwards to Provo. He served a term in the legislature (1892) and became the first director of the state mental hospital. Pike later retired to St. George.

PLAYER, WILLIAM J. (1831-82), was for many years foreman of the church blacksmith shop and later of the Salt Lake City Street Railroad. He was a resident of the Fifteenth Ward and a close associate there and on Temple Block of James Moyle. Born in England, he immigrated to Nauvoo in 1841 and to Utah ten years later.

POLLARD, JOSEPH (1819-90), was the sixth bishop of the Fifteenth Ward, serving from 1877 until his death. Pollard was baptized in England in 1849 and arrived in Utah in 1857. Moyle remembered Pollard as the bishop of his youth, although young Jim was almost nineteen when Pollard succeeded Robert T. Burton.

POWERS, ORLANDO W. (1850-1914), early practiced law in Michigan and New York, becoming active in local politics. In 1885 he was appointed associate justice of Utah by the president but resigned to practice law in Salt Lake City. A leader of the Liberal Party, Powers founded in 1892 the Tuscarora Society to keep alive the "Democratic-Liberal" cause in Utah. Following statehood, he became chair of the Democratic state committee and aspired unsuccessfully to the U.S. Senate.

PRATT, ORSON (1811-81), an apostle from 1835 until his death, had a wealth of missionary experiences and was considered one of the finest speakers and writers in the Mormon church. Additionally, he served as Church Historian from 1874 to 1881.

PRATT, PARLEY P. (1807-57), saw a Book of Mormon in 1830 and sought baptism. Ordained an apostle in 1835, he wrote profusely in defense of the church and quickly became known for his intellectual acumen. Pratt served several missions for the church, and after coming to Utah took a leading role in its governance. He was shot and killed in Arkansas while returning from a mission to the East.

PRIDAY, SAMUEL (1820-1903), a native of England, worked on Temple Block with James Moyle. During his work as a stonemason there, he was blinded in an accident and retired to his home in the Fifth Ward where he subsequently became patriarch of the Salt Lake Stake.

RAWLINS, JOSEPH L. (1850-1926), the son of a Mormon bishop, was educated under John R. Park whom he followed to the University of Deseret where he became professor of mathematics in 1870. He then entered the University of Indiana but returned to Utah without graduating and resumed his post at the University of Deseret. Licensed to practice law in 1875, he resigned from the faculty and entered politics first as a Liberal and then as a Democrat. In 1892 he was elected to Congress and in 1897 to the Senate. He was influential as a Congressman in obtaining statehood for Utah and obtaining for the University of Utah a portion of the Fort Douglas reservation. He resumed private practice in 1903.

RAWLINS, JOSEPH S. (1823-1900), after joining the LDS church in Illinois, came to Utah in 1848. He served as bishop of the South Cottonwood Ward from 1871 to 1900. Joseph L. Rawlins was his son.

RICH, CHARLES C. (1809-83), was baptized in 1832 and quickly distinguished himself as a military leader among the Saints. In 1844 Rich took command of the Nauvoo Legion with the rank of major general. After coming to Utah, he served briefly as president of the Salt Lake Stake and then became an apostle in 1849. In 1863 Brigham Young called him to settle Bear Lake Valley where he died in the town of Paris, Idaho, at the age of eighty-one.

RICH, EZRA C. (1864-1949), a son of Charles C. Rich, received a medical degree from Jefferson Medical College in Philadelphia in 1894 after which he set up practice in Ogden with his brother, Edward I. Rich. He was considered a pioneer physician in Weber County because of his innova-

tions and opening of the hospital there in 1897. His daughter, Helen, was married to Moyle's son Gilbert.

RICHARDS, CHARLES C. (1859-1953), was a son of Franklin D. Richards. Appointed Secretary of Utah Territory in 1893, he was the first Mormon to receive a federal executive position in Utah since 1858. He was admitted to the Utah bar in 1887 and became active in politics first in the Peoples Party and then in the formation of the Democratic Party, particularly in Weber County. Moyle counted him as a close associate and ally throughout his political career.

RICHARDS, FRANKLIN D. (1821-99), was converted by Brigham and Joseph Young in 1836. He became a member of the Quorum of the Twelve in 1849 and served two terms as president of the British Mission in the 1850s. Moyle's primary contact with him was as they both served in the territorial legislature. In addition, Richards was at various times regent of the University of Deseret, general in the Utah militia, judge in Weber County, and Church Historian.

RICHARDS, FRANKLIN S. (1849-1934), a son of Franklin D. Richards, read law as a young man in Ogden and was admitted to the Utah bar in 1874. Following a mission to Europe, Richards became Salt Lake City attorney in 1884 serving until 1890 and at the same time acting as attorney for the church particularly in behalf of polygamists. With the dissolution of the Peoples Party, Richards rose to the leading councils of the Democratic Party although his continuing capacity as attorney for the church restrained his political activity. He was a member of the constitutional convention of 1895 and represented Joseph F. Smith and other Mormon witnesses at the Smoot hearings in Washington.

RICHARDS, GEORGE F. (1861-1950), a son of Franklin D. Richards, became an apostle in 1906 following service as a stake patriarch. He served as acting patriarch to the church for five years and in 1945 became president of the Twelve.

RICHARDS, STEPHEN L. (1879-1959), grew up in Cache Valley and received a law degree from the University of Chicago in 1904. He then practiced law in Salt Lake County until he became an apostle at the age of thirty-seven. From 1951 until his death he served as first counselor to church president David O. McKay.

RIGDON, SIDNEY (1793-1876), was a Campbellite preacher who converted to Mormonism in Ohio. He served as Joseph Smith's first counselor (1833-44) and exerted a powerful influence on the prophet until their estrangement and Rigdon's eventual excommunication. David Whitmer,

in his interview with Moyle in 1885, attributed to Rigdon much of the change in the church which occurred after 1835 and blamed him for his own separation from the Saints.

Ritter, W. W. (1838-1922), came to Utah in 1847. After several missions for the church, he took an active part in building the Utah Central Railroad and other lines within Utah. Moyle lived near Ritter in the Twelfth-Thirteenth Ward and their families were closely associated.

Roberts, Brigham H. (1857-1933), was an important intellectual and political figure in Utah in addition to his membership on the First Council of Seventy (1888-1933). His parents joined the LDS church in England and brought him to Utah in 1866. Called to the Southern States Mission, he became its president in 1880. He served another mission to England and became interested in politics. He was elected as a Democrat to Congress in 1900 but was denied his seat because he was a polygamist. Like Moses Thatcher, Roberts clashed with his colleagues among the church leadership because of his devotion to his party, but he backed down short of losing his position in the councils. He wrote prolifically, authoring several books including a multi-volume history of Mormonism and editing the so-called Joseph Smith *History of the Church*.

Robinson, Joseph T. (1872-1937), longtime leader of Senate Democrats, had served in the House and as governor of Arkansas. He also ran on the Democratic ticket with Alfred E. Smith in 1928. Robinson was a lawyer by profession and at the time of his death was considered to be the leading contender for a seat on the Supreme Court. Moyle came to know him well in Washington during World War I.

Rockwell, Orrin Porter (1815-78), joined the Mormons in 1830. He served as personal bodyguard to Joseph Smith and then as a hunter and scout for Orson Pratt's advance company which entered Salt Lake Valley in 1847 ahead of Brigham Young. He operated a mail station south of the city and also served for many years as a deputy marshal. Rockwell's exploits as a gunfighter were legendary among the Saints.

Rolapp, Henry H. (1860-1936), joined the Mormon church in Denmark in 1877 after which he went to England. In 1880 he came to Utah and began the study of law. Admitted to the Utah bar in 1881, he entered the University of Michigan where he roomed with Moyle. He then practiced law in Ogden until he was appointed to the Utah Supreme Court in 1895 and elected district judge in 1896. Reentering private practice in 1905, he engaged in the sugar business and served in numerous church and civic positions. Rolapp later became president of the Eastern States Mission and was succeeded by Moyle in 1929.

ROOSEVELT, FRANKLIN D. (1882-1945), graduated from Harvard, studied law at Columbia, and commenced the practice of law in New York in 1907. Following a term in the New York state senate, he served as assistant secretary of the navy during the Wilson administration (1913-20). He then ran for vice president with James M. Cox on the Democratic ticket in 1920. Shortly after the campaign he was stricken with polio, but continued to be active in politics. He nominated Alfred E. Smith for the presidency in 1924 and 1928 and was himself elected governor of New York in 1928 and reelected in 1930. He easily defeated Herbert Hoover in the 1932 presidential campaign and was subsequently elected to the White House three more times on the tremendous popularity of his domestic "New Deal" and his leadership in World War II.

ROOSEVELT, JAMES, was the first cousin of President Franklin D. Roosevelt who told him about the Mormon boys who invented Utah's wide streets after seeing a fire leap narrow ones in Macon, Georgia. James was a common name in the large Roosevelt family and it is difficult to determine the exact identity of this individual.

ROOSEVELT, THEODORE (1858-1919), born in New York City and graduated from Harvard, read law but turned to the writing of history. After publishing a few works, he was elected to the New York Assembly which launched him into public service. After a term as civil service commissioner under Benjamin Harrison and some traveling and writing, he was appointed police commissioner in New York City in 1895 and then as assistant secretary of the navy in 1897. With the outbreak of war in 1898, Roosevelt volunteered for service, gained heroic stature in Cuba, and was elected governor of New York. He became vice president in 1901 and shortly thereafter acceded to the presidency upon the assassination of William McKinley. He was elected in his own right in 1904, but retired in 1909 only to return in an unsuccessful bid for reelection as a Progressive in 1912. His health failing, he nevertheless volunteered for service in World War I but was refused.

ROPER, DANIEL C. (1867-1943), U.S. Secretary of Commerce from 1933 to 1938, became Moyle's close friend during their service together in the Wilson administration and in the councils of the Democratic Party. Roper later (1939) served briefly as minister to Canada.

SALMON, WILLIAM W. (1839-1928), was baptized in Scotland and immigrated to Utah in 1866 where he fought in the Black Hawk War. He subsequently joined the Salt Lake City police force and became a deputy city marshal. From 1893 until his death, Salmon worked full-time in the Salt Lake temple.

SANDBERG, JOHN C. (1837-1909), came to Utah from Sweden in 1875. His attempt to gain citizenship touched off a test case regarding the naturalization of Mormons. Sandberg published a Swedish newspaper in Salt Lake City for many years.

SCANLAN, LAWRENCE (1843-1915), bishop of the Salt Lake Diocese of the Catholic church, came to Utah as a priest in 1873. Born in Ireland, Scanlan maintained cordial relations with the Mormons and was elevated to the bishopric in 1887. Four years later he began construction on the Cathedral of the Madeleine which ultimately became a Utah landmark. He also founded Holy Cross Hospital (1875), All Hallows College (1881), and St. Mary's Orphanage (1899).

SESSIONS, PERRIGRINE (1814-93), was born in Maine and joined the LDS church during the Kirtland, Ohio, period. He arrived in Utah in 1847 and founded a community on the site of present-day Bountiful. He had nine wives and fifty-two children.

SHARP, JEANNETTE (*see* Jeannette Sharp Ferguson)

SHARP, JOHN (1820-91), came to Utah from Scotland in 1850. He subcontracted a section of the Union Pacific Railroad through Weber Canyon and later became a member of the railroad's board of directors. Ordained a bishop in 1854, he served as head of the Twentieth Ward for many years.

SHERIFF, JOHN (JACK) (1853-1932), was baptized in England and came to Utah in 1869 where he went to work cutting stone for the Salt Lake temple. He later worked on the Cardston temple and numerous buildings in Utah including the Salt Lake City and County Building.

SMITH, ALFRED E. (1874-1944), starting out with a clerkship in Tammany Hall, progressed gradually to become the New York City party boss, a power in the state legislature, and four times governor of New York. Smith campaigned vigorously for the U.S. presidential nomination in 1924 and 1928, succeeding the second time but losing to Herbert Hoover at the polls. He was famous for his Catholicism, his urban predilections, and his opposition to Prohibition. All of these things probably combined to make Moyle one of his greatest opponents among Western Democrats.

SMITH, DAVID A. (1879-1952), a son of Joseph F. Smith, became counselor to the presiding bishop of the church in 1907 and served in the bishopric for thirty years.

SMITH, ELIAS A. (1857-1947), was elected probate judge in Salt Lake County in 1883 and then county selectman in 1889. He was a member of

the legislature in 1886 and 1888 and served as president during the latter term. He eventually went into banking becoming an officer in the Deseret Savings Bank.

SMITH, GEORGE A. (1817-75), a cousin of the prophet Joseph Smith, joined the church in 1832 and became an apostle in 1839. He served in the Nauvoo Legion, in the legislature, as Church Historian, and in 1868 succeeded Heber C. Kimball as Brigham Young's counselor.

SMITH, GEORGE ALBERT (1870-1951), a son of John Henry Smith, was the eighth president of the Mormon church. Following a mission to the Southern States and other religious and civic activities, he became an apostle in 1903 at the age of thirty-three. Smith was chronically ill after 1909 but acceded to the presidency in 1945. Moyle's major association with him was in conjunction with their mutual interest in the preservation of Utah history.

SMITH, HYRUM M. (1872-1918), a son of Joseph F. Smith, became an apostle in 1901 at the age of twenty-nine. He died just before his father at the age of forty-five.

SMITH, JOHN (1832-1911), was the fourth presiding patriarch of the LDS church. A son of the martyred Hyrum Smith, he came to Utah in 1858 and became patriarch to the church in 1855. It was from Smith that Moyle received his patriarchal blessing in 1879.

SMITH, JOHN HENRY (1848-1911), a son of George A. Smith the apostle, came to Utah in a pioneer company as an infant. Between missions for the church, Smith contracted two hundred miles of the Central Pacific Railroad, served on the Salt Lake City Council, and was elected president of the constitutional convention of 1895. He became an apostle in 1880 and just prior to his death was appointed second counselor to his kinsman, Joseph F. Smith. With Francis M. Lyman, Smith was a "gumshoer" who went out from church headquarters to convert Mormon Democrats into Republicans.

SMITH, JOSEPH (1805-44), founder and first president of the Mormon church, claimed to have seen God the Father and Christ in a vision in 1820. More visions followed which culminated in the "translation" of the Book of Mormon from metal plates and the organization of the new religion in 1830. Persecuted severely, Smith and his followers moved from New York to Ohio, and from there to Missouri and Illinois where Smith was assassinated in 1844.

SMITH, JOSEPH F. (1838-1918), was the son of Hyrum Smith who was martyred at Carthage, Illinois, in 1844. He became an apostle in 1866 and

sixth president of the church in 1901. Prior to this, he had made his Republican sentiments well-known in published polemics and worked vigorously for Republican success in Utah even during his term as president. Moyle clashed with him often over what the Democrat believed was dereliction of duty to keep separate church and state. Smith's open support of Reed Smoot further rankled Moyle as did the prophet's failure to take a firm stand in favor of local prohibition in the 1910s.

SMITH, JOSEPH F. (1899-1964), a son of Hyrum M. Smith, was the sixth presiding patriarch of the church. Prior to his call, he was head of the speech department at the University of Utah. He was released under controversial circumstances in 1946.

SMITH, JOSEPH FIELDING (1876-1972), a son of President Joseph F. Smith, became an apostle in 1910 and tenth president of the church in 1970. He served a mission to England at the turn of the century and then joined the staff at the Church Historian's Office. He subsequently served for half a century as Church Historian. It was in this capacity that he gained Moyle's respect, though he served in Moyle's mind as the perfect example of nepotism among the church leaders.

SMOOT, ALPHA (ALLIE) ELDREDGE (1865-1928), a daughter of Horace S. Eldredge, married Reed Smoot in 1884 to whom she bore six children. She was a girlhood companion of Alice Dinwoodey but snubbed the Moyles in Washington, D.C.

SMOOT, ERNEST W. (1902-69), son of Reed Smoot, lived in the Washington, D.C., area all of his life. He first was in the steel business and then operated a statistical service in the capital. The Moyles introduced him to his first wife.

SMOOT, REED (1862-1941), was manager of the Provo Woolen Mills when he was called to be an apostle in 1900. He was elected to the Senate as a Republican in 1903 and served consecutive terms until 1932 when he was defeated by Elbert Thomas. His attempt to take his seat in 1903 resulted in a four-year investigation of the church which brought Mormonism to the forefront of the public eye. His control over the Utah party and his use of ecclesiastical position to further political goals incensed Moyle who nearly defeated him for reelection in 1914. The "Apostle-Senator" gained national recognition for his leadership and seniority in the Senate, his most apparent achievements coming in the field of tariff legislation.

SNOW, FRANKLIN R. (1854-1942), successful businessman and Consolidated Wagon and Machine Company functionary, served with Moyle on

the Ensign Stake high council until becoming counselor in the stake presidency to Richard W. Young in 1918.

SNOW, LEROI C. (1876-1962), a son of Lorenzo Snow, studied shorthand and typewriting after which he became his father's private secretary and chief clerk of the tithing office in 1899. Constantly at his father's side, Snow was the subject of rumors that the aging president wanted to make him an apostle.

SNOW, LORENZO (1814-1901), baptized in Ohio in 1836, took several missionary assignments until he joined the Quorum of the Twelve in 1849. He was a colonizer of Box Elder County, Utah, and served in the territorial legislature for twenty-nine years. In 1898 he became the fifth president of the church at the age of eighty-four. Moyle served occasionally as his legal counsel.

SNOW, ZERA (c.1850-1922), a son of Zerubbabel Snow, moved to Portland, Oregon, where he engaged in private law practice until his death.

SNOW, ZERUBBABEL (1809-88), was baptized in Vermont in 1832. A member of Zion's Camp, he nevertheless remained in Ohio until the exodus of the LDS church to the Great Basin. In Utah, Snow was elected attorney general of the territory in 1869 and served also as a judge.

SPENCE, ALEXANDER M. (1850-1926), served with Moyle in the Southern States Mission in 1879. Returning to his home in Wellsville, Utah, Spence became Cache Valley correspondent for the *Deseret News* and finally patriarch of the Hyrum Stake.

SPENCER, CLARISSA YOUNG (1860-1939), nicknamed "Clint," married John D. Spencer in 1882 after a youthful courtship with Moyle. She later became active in literary circles, writing several books and articles about her father, Brigham Young, and the romantic history of Utah. Known as a walking dictionary of Utah facts and figures, she served as the official guide at the Lion House for many years.

SPENCER, DANIEL S. (1857-1934), a boyhood friend of Moyle, went to work as a youth on the Utah Central and Utah Southern railroads. In 1917 he became general passenger agent for the Oregon Short Line system.

SPENCER, JOHN D. (1858-1947), graduated from the University of Deseret in 1875 and became involved in the insurance business, but his main interests were in cultural activities. He organized opera companies, dramatic clubs, and art societies in Utah and was the first manager of the Salt Lake Symphony. His work in encouraging libraries, recreational facilities, and other civic projects gained him a reputation as one of Utah's

most "public-spirited" citizens. At the time of his death, he was the last remaining son-in-law of Brigham Young, being the widower of Clarissa Young Spencer.

SPINDEN, HERBERT J. (1879-1958), received his Ph.D. in anthropology at Harvard in 1909. He was associated with the American Museum of Natural History prior to becoming curator of Mexican archeology and ethnology at the Peabody Museum in 1921. After 1929, he served as curator of American Indian Art and Primitive Cultures at the Brooklyn Museum. He published extensively on the Mayans and the Indians of western America.

SPRY, WILLIAM (1864-1929), third governor of the state, was born in England and came to Utah in 1875. Beginning as a common laborer, he eventually became director of several leading Utah businesses. Following an LDS mission to the Southern States, he entered politics in Tooele County and was elected governor as a Republican in 1908 and served until 1916. President Warren G. Harding named him Commissioner of the General Land Office in 1921 and he served as such until his death.

STANDING, JOSEPH (1854-79), was killed by a mob near Varnell's Station, Georgia, while on his second mission to the Southern States. Moyle learned of the murder while proselyting in North Carolina.

STEPHENS, FRANK B. (1855-1940), was born in Maine and came to Utah in 1888 to practice law. He was elected Salt Lake City attorney in 1900 as a Democrat and remained active in the party until his death. He was also a thirty-second-degree Mason.

STOCKDALE, WILLIAM, the grandfather of Senator Elbert D. Thomas, worked as a stonemason on Temple Block under James Moyle.

STOUT, HOSEA (1810-89), converted to Mormonism in Missouri in 1838 and became a bodyguard to Joseph Smith. He came to Utah in 1848 where he remained active in martial affairs, eventually serving as judge-advocate of the Nauvoo Legion. He read law and practiced as an attorney between missions for the church.

SUTHERLAND, GEORGE (1862-1942), was born in England but grew up in Utah County. He graduated from Brigham Young Academy and studied law at the University of Michigan where he roomed with Moyle. Returning to Utah in 1883, he entered the practice of law in Provo and after several terms in the Utah Legislature was elected to Congress as a Republican in 1900 and to the U.S. Senate in 1904. After Sutherland was defeated for reelection by William H. King in 1916, President Warren G. Harding appointed him to the Supreme Court in 1922. He served on the

court until 1938 gaining a reputation as a strict constructionist and major opponent of the New Deal.

SWANSON, CLAUDE A. (1862-1939), was a Virginia lawyer who was elected to Congress in 1893 and except for a term as governor (1906-10), served without interruption in either the House or Senate until Franklin Roosevelt named him Secretary of the Navy in 1933. Swanson became associated with the president during World War I when they were known as allies in the "big Navy" push.

TALMAGE, JAMES E. (1862-1933), came to Utah from England in 1876. He studied under Karl G. Maeser at Brigham Young Academy and then obtained his doctorate at Lehigh University in Pennsylvania. He subsequently served as president of the University of Utah before leaving education to become a geological engineer. This career was cut short in 1911 when he became an apostle. Talmage was considered the chief theologian of the Mormon church for several years penning numerous books on church doctrine.

TANNER, NATHAN, JR. (1845-1919), grew up in South Cottonwood but settled in Ogden where he studied and practiced law. He served for a period as Ogden city attorney and later moved to Idaho where he died.

TAYLOR, A. BRUCE (1853-1924?), a son of John Taylor, was a lawyer in Salt Lake City when Moyle returned to Utah in 1885. Taylor never married and left the church. Further details of his life in Utah are obscure.

TAYLOR, JOHN (1808-87), was born in England and joined the LDS church in Canada. He became an apostle in 1838 and was seriously wounded in Carthage Jail during the martyrdom of Joseph and Hyrum Smith. Coming to Utah, he published extensively for the church and served missions in England and France. A staunch advocate of the continuance of polygamy in the face of government persecution, he became president of the church at Brigham Young's death. Moyle received a blessing from him prior to his departure for law school in 1882 and also rode in his funeral cortege in 1887.

TAYLOR, JOHN W. (1858-1916), a son of John Taylor, became an apostle in 1884 but resigned in 1905 over the end of church-sanctioned polygamy. He was excommunicated in 1911.

TAYLOR, N. W. (1852-84), was born in Surry County, North Carolina, joined the Mormon church in 1870, and moved to Utah. In 1879 he returned to his home state as a missionary companion to Moyle. Taylor subsequently taught school in Weber County until his death.

TEASDALE, GEORGE (1831-1907), joined the LDS church in England in 1852. After coming to Utah, he managed the tithing store and became involved in ZCMI. He became an apostle in 1882 and served several missions including one to the Southern States.

TENNANT, THOMAS A. (1855-1920), was born in England but came to Utah with his parents who were Mormon converts. After growing up in Salt Lake City, where he associated with young Moyle, he settled in Grantsville.

THATCHER, GEORGE W. (1840-1902), married two of Brigham Young's daughters. A brother to Apostle Moses Thatcher, he served in the Utah War, on the pony express, and later as superintendent of the Utah Western and Utah Northern railroads. He was Moyle's chief opponent for the Democratic nomination for governor in 1900 after which the Thatchers withheld their open support. This clearly cost Moyle much of the traditionally Democratic Cache County vote.

THATCHER, GEORGE W., JR. (1866-1950), accompanied Moyle and the reformatory study group in 1888 as its secretary. He later held minor elective positions in Cache County and became a noted leader of the arts, serving for several years as head of the music department at Utah State Agricultural College.

THATCHER, MOSES (1842-1909), was a member of the Council of the Twelve from 1879 to 1896 when he was dropped from that body, partially because of his political aspirations. During Thatcher's try for the Senate in 1897, Moyle threw his support to Joseph L. Rawlins which probably turned the tide against the former apostle. Thatcher was the subject of much discussion in Moyle's memoirs.

THOMAS, ELBERT D. (1883-1953), defeated Reed Smoot in 1932 (as the Apostle-Senator tried for a sixth term in the Senate) and was reelected in 1938 and 1944. Thomas graduated from the University of Utah in 1906 and, with his wife, served a lengthy LDS mission to Japan. Returning to Utah in 1912, he began his long career as professor of ancient languages, political science, and oriental history at the University of Utah. He received his Ph.D. from the University of California in 1924. Thomas wrote several books on both scholarly and religious subjects, held numerous church and civic positions, and at the time of his death was serving high commissioner of the U.S. Trust Territories of the Pacific.

THOMAS, MORONI J. (1855-1946), was a fixture of the Tabernacle Choir, having been a member for fifty years at the time of his death.

THURMAN, ALLEN G. (1813-95), was born in Virginia but moved as a

child to Ohio where he subsequently studied law and was admitted to the bar in 1835. After serving in Congress and in the state supreme court, he was elected Senator in 1867 following an unsuccessful bid for governor against Rutherford B. Hayes. He served two terms in the Senate where he was known as the "old Roman," a doctrinaire, strict constructionist and partisan Jeffersonian Democrat. Defeated for reelection in 1881, Thurman traveled extensively and then ran unsuccessfully for vice president in 1888 with Grover Cleveland. Additionally, he campaigned actively for the U.S. presidential nomination in 1876, 1880, and 1884.

THURMAN, SAMUEL R. (1850-1941), born in Kentucky, came to Utah in 1870 where he became a school teacher. He graduated from the University of Michigan Law School in 1880, then practiced law in Provo in partnership at various times with David Evans, George Sutherland, and William H. King. He served five terms in the legislature and as a member of the constitutional convention. After running unsuccessfully for Congress, he served as chair of the Democratic state committee (1912-16). He became justice of the Utah Supreme Court in 1917 and served until 1928.

TILDEN, SAMUEL (1814-86), after sporadic education at Yale and in his home state of New York, was admitted to the bar in 1841. He became influential in Democratic politics in New York City and eventually became governor of the state (1874). As a champion of reform, Tilden catapulted into the national limelight and was nominated for the presidency in St. Louis in 1876 on the second ballot. In the election, Tilden won a plurality of the popular vote but was denied office in the famous "Compromise of 1877" in the House which sent Rutherford B. Hayes to the White House. Tilden returned to his law practice, but ill health prevented further political activity.

TORONTO, JOSEPH B. (1854-1933), studied mathematics under W. H. Rager and Karl G. Maeser, and ancient languages under Joseph L. Rawlings. He entered West Point in 1875 but resigned shortly to take Rawlings's place on the faculty at Deseret University. Becoming professor of ancient languages, mathematics, and history, Toronto remained at the university until 1889 when he resigned to travel in Europe and the Middle East. He resumed his position in 1894 and finally retired in 1904. Known for his high intellectuality and honesty, Toronto was something of a legend in Utah.

TULLIDGE, EDWARD W. (1829-94), became a Mormon in England and came to Utah in 1860. He edited several newspapers and journals in Utah and wrote prolifically. After associating for a time with the Godbeites, he joined the Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints in Missouri but soon returned to Salt Lake City. Among his numerous books

were histories of Salt Lake City, Joseph Smith, and Brigham Young. He also authored several plays and founded various periodicals.

TUTTLE, DANIEL S. (1837-1923), was a highly educated Episcopalian priest who was consecrated "missionary bishop" of Montana, Idaho, and Utah in 1867. He founded St. Mark's Church in Salt Lake City and began construction on the cathedral. Tuttle also founded Rowland Hall School and St. Mark's Hospital. In 1886 he left his frontier diocese for a new post in Missouri and subsequently became presiding bishop of the Episcopal church (1903).

UNDERWOOD, OSCAR W. (1862-1929), longtime senator from Alabama and Democratic presidential hopeful in 1912 and 1924, authored the Underwood Tariff of 1913 which was the Wilson administration's answer to the protectionism of the previous Republican regimes. Underwood was also extremely interested in foreign policy and participated in several international conferences including the Washington Armament Conference of 1922. He was born in Kentucky, raised in Minnesota, educated in Virginia, and first entered Congress in 1895 after practicing law in Alabama.

VAN COTT, RAY (1869-1944), Moyle's law partner for many years and also his brother-in-law, graduated from the University of Utah in 1891, taught school for a period, and then received his law degree from Cornell in 1895. Van Cott was an ardent Democrat and held various elective and appointive offices in the state.

VAN COTT, WALDEMAR (1859-1940), attended the University of Michigan Law School with Moyle. Graduating in 1885, he practiced in partnership with George Sutherland and Parley L. Williams and later in various other firms. He gained recognition in 1903 when he represented Reed Smoot during the Senate hearings. Van Cott was also a member of the University of Utah board of regents and a director of several banks and corporations.

VARNEY, SAMUEL (1806-87), was baptized in Vermont in 1855 and immigrated to Utah the following year. After a short residence in Lehi, he moved to the Fifteenth Ward in Salt Lake City where he served as tithing clerk to bishops Robert Burton and Joseph Pollard.

VERNON, FRANCIS MAUGHAN, wife of Weston Vernon, Brigham Young College professor and later real estate executive in Logan, served as Democratic National Committeewoman opposite Moyle in the 1920s.

WADDELL, ISAAC, was a member of the legislature in 1888, but additional details of his life are obscure.

WALKER, JOSEPH R., SR. (1836-1901), born in England, came to Utah in 1852. In 1858, with his brothers, Walker opened a dry goods store at Camp Floyd and with the profit from its operation opened a large general store and a bank in Salt Lake City. Additionally, he engaged in mining operations principally in Montana and became one of the wealthiest men in Utah.

WALL, E.A. (1839-1920), born in Indiana, moved west in 1860 where he became interested in mining and engaged in freighting between Utah and Montana. Settling first in Idaho, he entered politics and served in the Idaho legislature. In 1885 he came to Utah and mined at Mercur and Bingham where he discovered the copper deposits which led to the formation of the Utah Copper Company. Wall developed other mines in Utah and Nevada and, by the turn of the century, had amassed a fortune.

WALLACE, HENRY A. (1878-1965), was an agricultural geneticist and economist in Iowa when he was appointed Secretary of Agriculture by Franklin Roosevelt. Despite Wallace's controversial ideas while in the cabinet, Roosevelt chose him as his running mate in 1940. As vice president, he traveled widely and became outspoken in his concern for international social welfare. He became Secretary of Commerce in 1945 but soon broke with Truman over the beginning of the Cold War. Wallace then bolted the Democratic Party and ran for U.S. president in 1948 on the Progressive ticket.

WALLACE, WILLIAM R. (1865-1957), highly successful in business, industry and civic service, served at various times as Democratic state chairman and national committeeman. He failed in a try for the Senate nomination in 1934, but his major interest was in the Utah Oil Refining Company which he founded in 1916. His most noted public endeavors were in the field of water conservation as he served on various water and power boards until shortly before his death.

WALSH, THOMAS J. (1859-1933), was admitted to the bar in his home state of Wisconsin in 1884, but he moved west finally settling in Helena, Montana, in 1890. After several attempts to gain federal elective office, he was elected to the Senate as a Democrat in 1912. His career in Washington was unspectacular until his committee on public lands exposed what became known as the Teapot Dome Scandal (1922-24). He subsequently served as chair of the Democratic National Conventions of 1924 and 1932. Franklin Roosevelt appointed him U.S. Attorney General in 1933, but the senator died before he could assume office.

WARRUM, NOBLE (1864-1951), was born in Indiana and received legal training at the University of Michigan. Warrum settled in Logan, Utah, in

the 1890s from which he went to the legislature and the constitutional convention. He then became editor of the *Salt Lake Herald* until its purchase by Republican interests. In 1914 he was appointed postmaster in Salt Lake City and later joined the editorial staff of the *Salt Lake Tribune*. Moyle counted him as a close ally.

WELLING, MILTON H. (1876-1947), following attendance at the University of Utah and a mission for the LDS church, became president of the Malad Stake and later of the Bear River Stake. He was elected to the Utah legislature in 1911 and then to Congress in 1917, serving until 1921. A Democrat, he also served as Utah Secretary of State from 1928 to 1936, following which he became a U.S. Interior Department functionary.

WELLS, CHARLES H. (1870-1945), a son of Daniel H. Wells, was a noted Utah banker and contractor. He was associated with Moyle in the Utah Tropical Fruit Company as its treasurer.

WELLS, DANIEL H. (1814-91), was living in Commerce, Illinois, in 1839 when the Mormons moved there and built the city of Nauvoo. Though he did not join the church until 1846, he served as Nauvoo city councilman, alderman, university regent, and as general in the Nauvoo Legion. In Utah he became an apostle and served as Brigham Young's second counselor (1857-77). He also served a lengthy term as mayor of Salt Lake City. Moyle witnessed him in action during the election day riots in 1874 and in addresses in the Tabernacle and at the School of the Prophets.

WELLS, EMMELINE B. (1828-1921), was baptized in 1842. When her first husband deserted her, she joined the household of Newel K. Whitney who died in 1850. She subsequently married Daniel H. Wells and entered a literary career dedicated to the advancement of women. Publishing in the *Women's Exponent* and elsewhere, she identified closely with the Relief Society and became a forceful spokesperson for women's rights and such issues as prohibition and suffrage. She was the fourth general president of the Relief Society.

WELLS, HEBER M. (1859-1938), a son of Daniel H. Wells, became governor of Utah in 1896 after serving in the Utah constitutional convention. He was reelected in 1900, defeating Moyle by just over three thousand votes. Following his two terms as governor, Wells engaged in banking until 1913 when he was elected Salt Lake City commissioner. He later worked for Internal Revenue in California before joining the editorial staff of the *Salt Lake Herald*.

WEST, CALEB (1844-1909), was the last territorial governor of Utah. He was a Confederate veteran who was appointed governor of the territory

by Grover Cleveland in 1885, succeeded by Arthur L. Thomas in 1889, and then reappointed by Cleveland in 1893. West worked fervently to prevent Utah statehood and proposed the disfranchisement of Mormons in Idaho, but nevertheless worked diligently to obtain pardons for polygamous Mormons serving terms in prison. He was also noted for signing the first bonding measure for Utah in 1888.

WEST, WILBUR, was the LDS mission secretary in the Eastern States when Moyle assumed the presidency of the mission in 1928.

WHITMER, DAVID (1805-88), came into contact with Mormonism in 1828 when he met Oliver Cowdery in Palmyra. Much of the work on the Book of Mormon subsequently took place at the home of his father, Peter Whitmer, Sr. David was baptized by Joseph Smith in 1829 and shortly afterwards saw the golden plates of the Book of Mormon in the hands of an angel and in the presence of Smith, Cowdery, and Martin Harris. Thus numbered among the "three witnesses," Whitmer became a leading figure in early Mormonism but was excommunicated in 1838 following a prolonged dispute with Smith. In spite of this, he reaffirmed his testimony as a witness to the golden plates during an interview with Moyle in 1885.

WHITNEY, HELEN KIMBALL (*see* Helen Kimball Whitney Bourne)

WHITNEY, HORACE G. (1858-1920), entered journalism in the footsteps of his father, Horace K. Whitney. During the 1880s the younger Whitney was city editor and later manager of the *Salt Lake Herald* and then went to work for the *Deseret News* in the 1890s. As general manager of the *News*, he reconditioned its financial operation and increased its circulation dramatically. He was also secretary-treasurer of the Utah-Idaho Sugar Company and a prominent patron of the arts in Utah.

WHITNEY, HORACE K. (1823-84), a son of Newel K. Whitney, was a bookkeeper in the office of Brigham Young. Well-educated and articulate, yet overly modest, Whitney left to his children the desire for literary and official distinction.

WHITNEY, ORSON F. (1855-1931), an educator and forensic expert, served as bishop of the Eighteenth Ward prior to his call to the apostleship in 1906. He wrote prolifically, including a four-volume *History of Utah*.

WILLIAMS, PARLEY L. (1842-1936), was born and raised in Illinois and later moved to Wyoming to practice law. In 1871 he came to Salt Lake City where he gradually became involved in politics and as attorney for several railroads. Williams also served several terms in the legislature as a Democrat.

WILLIAMS, WILLIAM N. (1851-1927), was born in Wales and came to Utah in 1861. After a mission and successful business enterprises, he was elected to the legislature in 1900 as a Republican.

WILSON, WOODROW (1856-1924), born in Virginia to a Presbyterian minister, graduated from Princeton in 1879, practiced law in Georgia, and then entered graduate school at Johns Hopkins University where he received a Ph.D. in political science in 1886. After teaching at Bryn Mawr and Wesleyan universities, he joined the faculty at Princeton in 1890. Following a controversial but brilliant administration as president of the institution, Wilson was elected governor of New Jersey in 1910 and to the presidency in 1912. His two terms in the White House need no explanation here, but his failure to secure a ratification of the Treaty of Versailles with its League of Nations provision seriously damaged his health leading to what Moyle styled as his "martyrdom."

WINDER, JOHN R. (1821-1910), who served as first counselor to Joseph F. Smith (1901-10), joined the LDS church in England and came to Utah in 1853. After a career as a leather maker and officer in the Nauvoo Legion, Winder became a counselor in the Presiding Bishopric in 1887 where he served until his call to the First Presidency. Moyle regarded him as a Democrat but a silent one.

WINES, IRA D. (1844-1923), was a wealthy Lehi cattleman who joined Moyle and James Chipman in founding the abortive Utah Tropical Fruit Company in Mexico in 1907.

WISE, JASPER, was among the seventeen persons Moyle baptized in Burke County, North Carolina. He later moved with his family to Salem, Oregon.

WITTE, LINDSAY, was a North Carolina farmer whose wife joined the church. During a threatened mob attack, Witte defended Moyle and his companion. Moyle saw him again briefly in Winston-Salem as the Utahn traveled through the South as Assistant Secretary of the Treasury.

WOOD, DANIEL (1800-92), was baptized by Brigham Young in Canada in 1833. He moved with the Saints through Ohio, Missouri, and Illinois, eventually coming to Utah in 1848. After a brief residence in Salt Lake City, Wood moved his family to Davis County and founded Woods Cross. There he lived out his life and prospered as a farmer. He had six wives and many children, one of whom was Elizabeth, the mother of James H. Moyle.

WOOD, ELIZABETH (*see* Elizabeth Wood Moyle)

WOOD, WILFORD C. (1893-1968), was Moyle's cousin. A furrier by trade, Wood owned in addition large tracts of land in Davis County, was an amateur historian, and maintained a private museum of Mormon artifacts. The church employed him as a purchasing agent and he was responsible for the acquisition of numerous Mormon historical sites around the nation.

WOODIN, WILLIAM H. (1868-1934), was Secretary of the Treasury when Moyle was appointed Commissioner of Customs. Woodin was born into a wealthy Pennsylvania family and by 1922 had inherited the presidency of the American Car and Foundry Company. He was also heavily involved in numerous other concerns particularly in banking and railroads when Roosevelt appointed him to the Treasury in 1933. He served only briefly, however, as ill health forced his resignation in January 1934. He was a Republican but had supported Alfred E. Smith for the White House in 1928 and 1932.

WOODRUFF, ABRAHAM OWEN (1872-1904), a son of Wilford Woodruff, served a mission in the 1890s and was ordained an apostle in 1897. He died of smallpox seven years later.

WOODRUFF, WILFORD (1807-98), was fourth president of the LDS church. Joining the Mormons in New York in 1833, he quickly became known for his missionary zeal and was ordained an apostle in 1839. To the aging Woodruff, known for his soft-spoken spirituality, fell the task of ending church-sanctioned polygamy which he did with the famous manifesto of 1890.

WOODS, GEORGE L. (1832-90), was born in Missouri but eventually made his way to Oregon where he became active in Republican politics. He was elected governor of the state in 1866. Failing in an attempt at reelection, Woods was appointed governor of Utah in 1870 and took office in 1871. During his nearly four years in the territory, he arrogantly spurned the Mormon leaders, consistently sided with the anti-Mormon clique, and alienated the bulk of the population with his ill-conceived diatribes against the church. He failed to achieve reappointment and left the territory in 1874. Woods later practiced law in San Francisco.

YOUNG, ALFALES (1853-1920), a son of Brigham Young, preceded Moyle in the University of Michigan Law School, graduating in 1877. Following his admission to the Utah bar, however, Young rarely practiced law, devoting his energies instead to journalism. An avid reader, he did editorial work with Salt Lake City newspapers, the *Herald*, *Democrat*, and *Deseret News*. Moyle's reference to Alfales having left the church probably

came from his marriage to an Episcopalian schoolteacher, Ada Cotle, in 1884.

YOUNG, ALONZO (1858-1918), a son of Brigham Young, worked in the ZCMI organization and served on the Ensign Stake high council with James H. Moyle.

YOUNG, BRIGHAM (1801-77), was second president of the LDS church. Acknowledged as one of America's great colonizers, he led the Mormons from 1844 until his death and was the dominating presence in Utah throughout Moyle's youth. He joined the church in 1832 and became an apostle in 1835. In addition to his ecclesiastical duties, he was also governor of Utah Territory from 1850 to 1858, superintendent of Indian affairs from 1851 to 1858, a founder of about 350 communities in the Far West, and founder of scores of business enterprises. His more popular fame came because of his many wives and large family. Moyle stood guard over his body as it lay in state in 1877 and additionally had many memories of seeing the prophet in life.

YOUNG, BRIGHAM, JR. (1836-1903), was born in Kirtland, Ohio, and drove an ox team to Utah in 1847 at the age of twelve. After a brief career in business, he was ordained an apostle in 1864 and four years later joined the Quorum of the Twelve. In 1869 he went to Cache Valley to preside over the Saints there but returned to Salt Lake City in 1873 to assist his father. He was indicted for polygamy and spent the 1880s "hiding out." In 1890 he was called to preside over the European Mission but returned to Salt Lake City in 1893 after all charges against him were dismissed. At the time of his death, he was president of the Quorum of the Twelve.

YOUNG, BRIGHAM HEBER (1845-1928), was born in Nauvoo and arrived in the Salt Lake Valley in 1848. There is evidence, as Moyle indicated, that Heber was ordained an apostle by his father although never numbered among the general authorities. He worked on the railroad and in his later years for ZCMI and in the insurance and real estate business.

YOUNG, CLARISSA (CLINT) (*see* Clarissa Young Spencer)

YOUNG, FERAMORZ LITTLE (1858-81), a son of Brigham Young, died at the age of twenty-three returning from a mission to Mexico. He received an appointment to Annapolis in 1874 but resigned after two years. In 1879 he graduated from Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute in New York with a degree in engineering.

YOUNG, HARRIET AMELIA FOLSOM (1830-1910), became the plural wife of Brigham Young in 1863. It was for her that he built the Gardo House which subsequently became known as the Amelia Palace.

YOUNG, HARRIET (HATTIE) HOOPER (1861-1939), a youthful acquaintance of Moyle, was the daughter of William H. Hooper. She married Brigham Young's son, Willard, in 1882.

YOUNG, JOHN W. (1844-1924), a son of Brigham Young, was ordained an apostle at the age of eleven but never served on the Quorum of the Twelve. At nineteen he was appointed assistant counselor in the First Presidency and subsequently served as his father's first counselor. His real interests were in railroad building, and his efforts in this regard attracted for him widespread notice throughout the West. But by the turn of the century, he was deeply in debt and trying various schemes to recoup. Failing completely, Young died while working as an elevator operator in New York City.

YOUNG, JOSEPH (1797-1881), the brother of Brigham Young, joined the church in 1832. After service in Zion's Camp, Young became the second of the original presidents of the Seventy in 1835. Persevering through the early trials of the church, he came to Utah in 1850.

YOUNG, JOSEPH A. (1834-75), a son of Brigham Young, was born in Kirtland, Ohio, and spent his young adulthood on missions for the LDS church. He then operated a lumber business, took subcontracts on the Union Pacific, and supervised construction of the Utah Central Railroad. Serving several colonizing missions, he organized the United Order in Sevier County.

YOUNG, JOSEPH DON CARLOS (1855-1938), a son of Brigham Young, received a degree in engineering in 1879 from Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute in New York. Contributing significantly to Utah architecture, Young served as architect on the Salt Lake temple during the final phases of its construction. He also designed the Church Administration Building and a multitude of other important Utah structures. After a mission to the Southern States in the 1890s, he taught at Brigham Young Academy in Provo and continued his profession as an architect in Salt Lake City.

YOUNG, LEGRAND (1840-1921), was a son of Joseph Young (Brigham's brother). He preceded Moyle at the University of Michigan Law School graduating in 1871. He subsequently served as legal counsel to Brigham Young though his partner was the gentile Parley L. Williams. After statehood, Young became district judge. Prior to 1891, he was an important member of the Peoples Party but took a minimal political role.

YOUNG, OWEN D. (1875-1962), industrialist and monetary expert from New York, entered the national spotlight from 1919 to 1930 at a series of international conferences concerning German reparations and the stabi-

lization of the German economy. Young rendered "dollar-a-year" service to five presidents but refused to seek public office himself though mentioned often as a Democratic presidential possibility. For several years he was chairman of the board of General Electric and was the first chairman of the Radio Corporation of America.

YOUNG, RICHARD W. (1858-1919), born in the Beehive House, was the grandson of Brigham Young through Joseph A. Young. He worked as an apprentice carpenter on Temple Block and on the railroad prior to his appointment to West Point. Commissioned in the artillery in 1882, he then entered Columbia College Law School, graduating in 1884. Following a notable career both in the army and in the practice of law in Salt Lake City, he served with distinction in the Spanish-American War after which he was tendered the brevet of Brigadier General. In 1904 he became the first president of the Ensign Stake in Salt Lake City.

YOUNG, SEYMOUR B. (1837-1924), a son of Joseph Young (Brigham's brother), survived as a baby the Haun's Mill Massacre. After several missions for the Mormon church, Young entered into the study and practice of medicine and received his M.D. at the University Medical College of New York. He was called to the First Council of the Seventy in 1882.

YOUNG, WILLARD (1852-1936), a son of Brigham Young, entered West Point in 1871 as the first Mormon to enroll in the U.S. Military Academy. In 1875 he graduated with a commission in the Corps of Engineers and in 1882 married Harriet (Hattie) Hooper. Among his notable successes in the army was construction of the Cascade locks on the Columbia River between 1883 and 1887. He also served in various church and Utah state positions between his several terms with the military. Young's going in and out of the army to take church assignments apparently convinced Moyle that his life was somewhat less than content.

ZANE, CHARLES S. (1831-1915), first chief justice of the state of Utah, came to Salt Lake City in 1884 as judge of the territorial supreme court. He had previously served on the bench in Illinois. Zane failed in an attempt for a second term as chief justice in 1899 and opened a private practice in Salt Lake City.

ZANE, JOHN M., a son of Judge Charles S. Zane, was Moyle's law partner along with George P. Costigan from 1891 to 1899. Additional details of his life are obscure.

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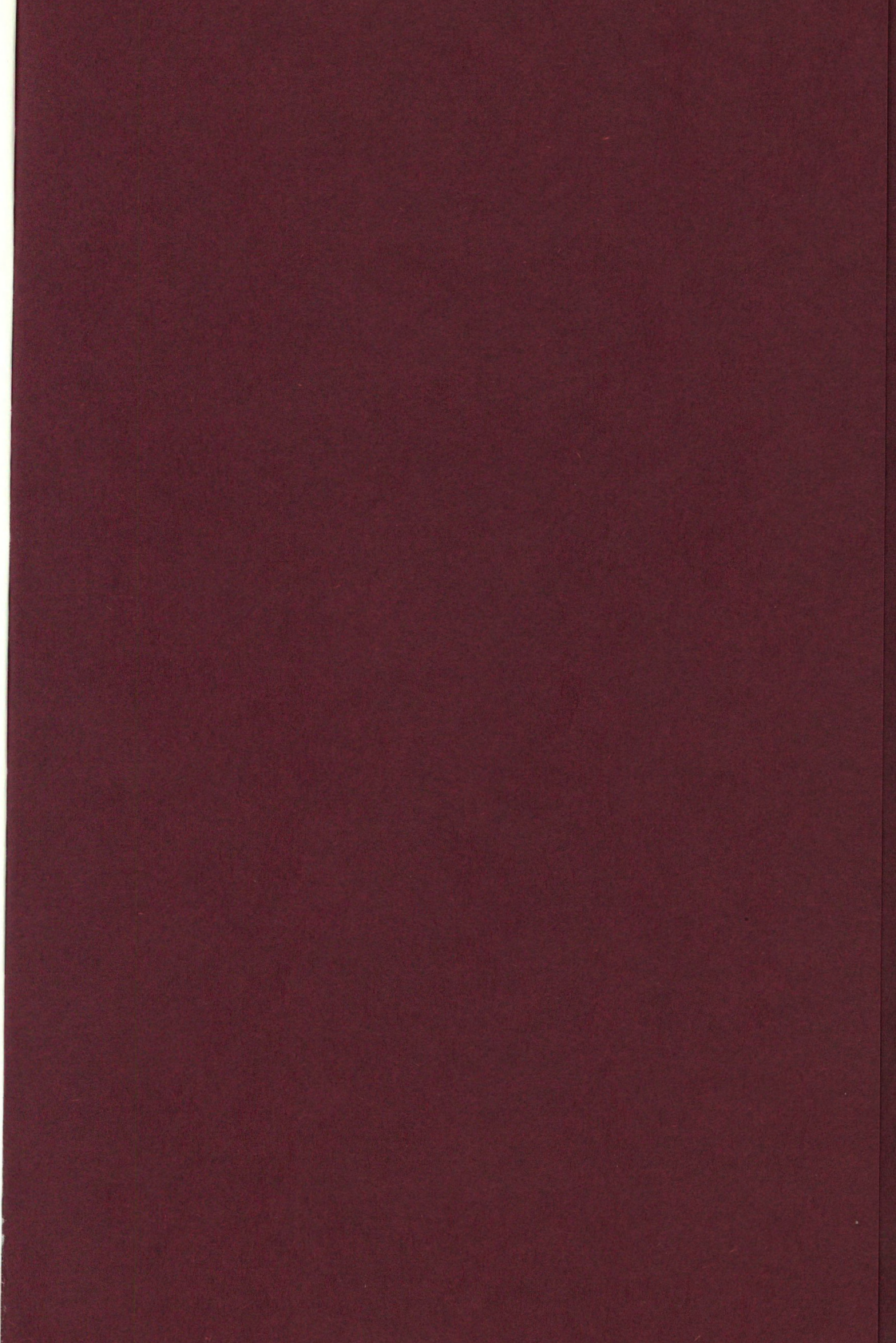


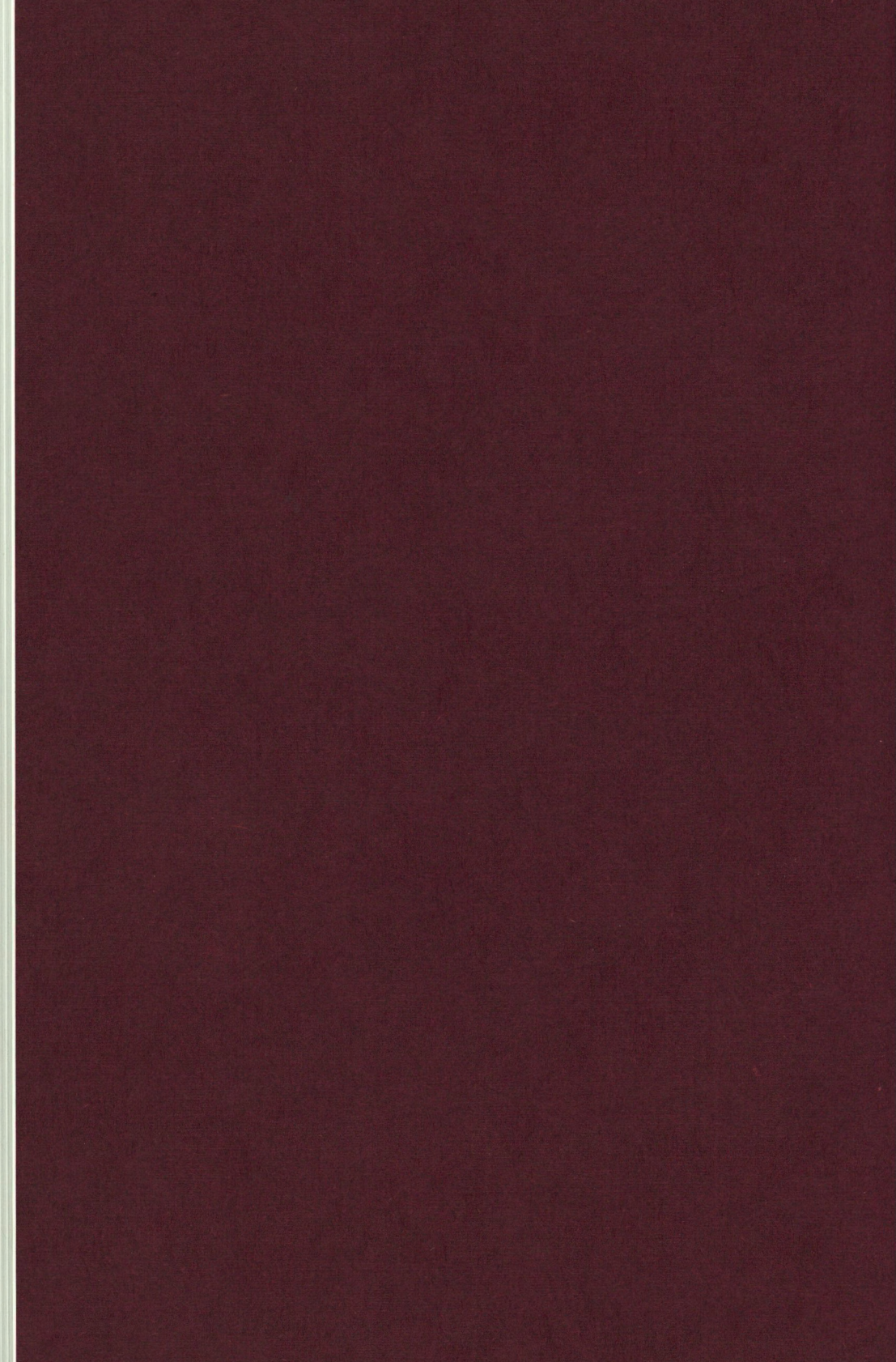














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